

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Wednesday, March 6, 1996

The House met at 11 a.m.

The Chaplain, Rev. James David Ford, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Your goodness to us, O God, is beyond our measure and Your grace to us is not restrained. In spite of missing the mark and seeing too much our own way, You allow your blessings to flow and Your mercies never to cease. We pray that this day we will open our hearts and minds to the daily gifts of faith and hope and love and pray that these gifts will brighten our day and make us faithful in Your service. In Your name, we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

Mr. BONILLA. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to clause 1, rule I, I demand a vote on agreeing to the speaker's approval of the Journal.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the Chair's approval of the Journal.

The question was taken; and the speaker announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. BONILLA. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to clause 5 of rule I, further proceedings on this question are postponed.

The point or order is considered withdrawn.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. TRAFICANT] come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. TRAFICANT led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Lundregan, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Sen-

ate to the bill (H.R. 927), an act to seek international sanctions against the Castro government in Cuba, to plan for support of a transition government leading to a democratically elected government in Cuba, and for other purposes.

THE MIDDLE EAST

(Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, Patrick Henry said "Gentlemen may cry peace, peace. But there is no peace." In quick succession, four blasts have extinguished 54 lives and scarred another 210.

Hamas has demonstrated again that it is a murderous group of fanatics who are so poisoned with hate—so obsessed with slaughter—that no innocent life is safe.

Terrorism experts have stated that Hamas and its allies will attempt to inflict this sort of horror on Americans. We must work together with the Israelis in stopping these madmen.

Arafat must also shoulder his share of the blame for this situation. He has failed to prevent the uses of territory under his administration from being used as a staging area for these plots.

He has failed to comply with the conditions of the Oslo peace accords that required that he remove those sections of the Palestine National Covenant which call for the destruction of Israel.

Until such time as Arafat lives up to those agreements he has signed and eliminates Hamas from areas for which he bears responsibility, the United States should know that there is little good in negotiating with him.

HEALTH INSURANCE COVERAGE

(Mr. PALLONE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, Democrats are uniting behind a proposal that would make modest but important improvements in America's health insurance. This is a bill that was sponsored by the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. ROUKEMA] that would basically guarantee that insurance companies could not deny health insurance coverage for preexisting conditions and also would improve what we call portability, the ability to take your insurance with you or to guarantee that your insurance is renewed even if you lose group coverage.

Today we have over 150 House Democrats who are cosponsoring the Roukema measure, including myself. We are challenging the House Republican leadership to let this bill come to the floor without loading it up with all kinds of other proposals that would make it less possible for the bill to pass. This is something that President Clinton endorsed in his State of the Union Address.

The time has come now for bipartisan support for this health security and health insurance reform for all Americans. I call upon the House leadership to bring this bill to the floor so that we can see better guarantees that pre-existing conditions would not prevent someone from getting health insurance and that someone who loses their health insurance on the job can still get it in the individual market.

CONGRATULATIONS TO CONGRESSMAN JIM BUNNING

(Mr. BURTON of Indiana asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, a great, great honor befell one of our colleagues yesterday. JIM BUNNING from Kentucky, a very good friend of mine. Everybody here in the front row was elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame. This is an honor that very few baseball players ever achieve. JIM pitched no-hitters in both the American and National Leagues. He did extraordinary things and it is high time he was recognized.

I remember when I was about 6 years old, and he was in the majors, how much I admired JIM BUNNING. Maybe I was a little bit older, but anyhow let me just say that JIM deserves this honor. I hope all of my colleagues will take the opportunity today to congratulate him. It is a great honor for JIM BUNNING and a great honor for the State of Kentucky.

DISTRICT'S FEDERAL PAYMENT

(Ms. NORTON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, education is the motherhood and apple pie of Congress, yet the divergent ideology on education is punishing 80,000 schoolchildren in the Nation's Capital. Six months into the appropriation year, a third of the District's Federal payment

is still here, yes, it is still here, and the District is going to run out of money at the end of the month.

The issue is not the District but whether tuition should go to private and religious schools. We passed it here with a compromise. There is very little money involved, yet nationally of course there is a proposal to cut a billion dollars and a million kids from the title I education and disadvantaged program.

The House is free to argue the point. It is a fair point to argue, as to whether vouchers should obtain or whether we should cut large amounts of money from public schoolchildren. I ask my colleagues, however, to care about the District's schoolchildren and about the survival of the Nation's Capital itself. Do not allow us to run out of money at the end of March because money you owe us is stuck here.

FOCUS ON RESULTS

(Mr. HAYWORTH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the words of the delegate from the District of Columbia.

While we may have some philosophical differences that should be debated on this floor and while we may have problems from time to time, when I returned to the Sixth District of Arizona, one message was given to me overwhelmingly by liberals and conservatives, Democrats and Republicans. They said, Congressman, focus on results and what works.

Therefore, our mission is clear. To do, in the words of President Clinton, what he said he wanted to do, to end welfare as we know it, to find a way to cut into the bureaucracy so \$32 billion is not spent on the bureaucracy of education but instead put on the frontlines helping children learn and ultimately to allow the American people to hang onto more of their hard-earned money to decide how to spend that on their children instead of sending it here to Washington bureaucrats.

Those three broadly defined goals deal with results. Let us work together to see those results brought to fruition.

A MESSAGE FROM SARA LEE

(Mr. TRAFICANT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, Sara Lee is closing their Virginia apparel factory; 42 workers lose their jobs. Sara Lee is also closing a T-shirt factory in North Carolina; another 370 workers lose their jobs.

But Sara Lee says there is a lot of good news here. They are going to keep open their distribution center in

Martinsville, VA. Distributing center. They will not make the products here. They will distribute them so America can buy them but Americans cannot work in the factory.

My colleagues, America does not build a TV, a VCR, a typewriter, or a telephone, but they are distributing them all over our Nation. With NAFTA and GATT, this is not even trade anymore. This is a takeover. America is becoming a distribution center for foreign made imports.

Think about it, Congress. There is a serious message in there.

ARE MORE PROGRAMS THE ANSWER

(Mr. JONES asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. JONES. Mr. Speaker, despite large increases in Federal spending, test scores for students in the United States continue to fall. In fact, according to a recent study, United States students scored far below Japanese and British students in all subjects for which there were comparisons. In some subjects, Japanese students came very close to doubling scores of United States students. So, what is the President's answer to this problem? More spending and more programs.

This is not the answer. Last week, Chairman GOODLING held a press conference to discuss his committee's finding that there are 760 Federal education programs scattered throughout 39 separate departments, agencies, and commissions. This web of Federal programs costs over \$120 billion per year to educate citizens on everything from the disposal of boat sewage to citizenship. Each of these programs has its own application process, and each requires large amounts of staff time to administer—on the Federal, State, and local levels. Money spent on redundant programs is money not spent on our children.

This must change.

PULLING THE RUG OUT FROM UNDER AMERICAN STUDENTS

(Mr. BALDACCI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. BALDACCI. Mr. Speaker, as March 15 draws closer, we are reminded that Congress has failed to enact the fiscal year 1996 appropriation for education. Five months of uncertainty about Federal funding has had a devastating impact on schools in Maine and throughout the country.

I am concerned about the effect of this uncertainty, combined with deep spending cuts, on our schools. Schools are having to make plans for the next school year without even knowing what resources they will have available.

I visited a number of schools in my district over the February recess. I was so impressed with the students I saw who were eager to ask questions and to learn. The message I received is that we must invest more in our students, to help them grow and develop to their fullest potential.

Unfortunately, some of our majority colleagues seem determined to pull the rug out from under America's future by pushing cuts in education funding. That's moving in the wrong direction, and I urge my colleagues to oppose these efforts.

ELECTION YEAR POLITICS WITH THE WAR ON DRUGS

(Mr. DOOLITTLE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Speaker, today's Washington Post contains the following headline, "About Face, Clinton To Restore Staff He Cut From Antidrug Office."

First paragraph reads:

Moving full circle in this election year, President Clinton plans an ambitious upgrading of White House drug control policy office, 3 years after virtually wiping out that office.

Mr. Speaker, a recent survey shows huge increases in drug use amongst our children. Not only is there increasing drug use, but the average age at which children first use drugs is now age 13.

Mr. Speaker, the President has pursued a policy of appeasement in the war on drugs. He has cut drug enforcement programs. As Members heard, he has, in fact, been AWOL in the war on drugs. And now, in an election year, he has decided to do something about it.

Mr. Speaker, it is truly tragic that our children have been allowed to suffer for 3 years while the President was pursuing his true priorities.

□ 1115

PASS THE BIPARTISAN HEALTH CARE BILL

(Ms. DeLAURO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. DeLAURO. Mr. Speaker, my Republican colleagues are trying to come to terms with the failure of their agenda. They are instead trying to repack-age their image. They would have us believe that they are on the side of working Americans. But let me tell my colleagues that their agenda in fact would hurt working Americans.

Just take a look at the issue of health care. There is today in this body a bipartisan bill to improve the health security for average working Americans. The bill would prevent the insurance companies from denying health

coverage because of preexisting medical conditions. It would increase health care availability for all. And this bill has the support of Republicans and Democrats in the House and Senate, but they will not bring it up for a vote. There has been no action and no activity on this bill, and they are trying to load it down with controversial proposals in order to try to defeat it.

I will quote from the Wall Street Journal this morning that says, "But passing the provisions that the House suggests, passing the provisions in the House, may set up a confrontation with the Senate" and the bill would not pass.

Mr. Speaker, if we are serious about helping working Americans, let us talk about health care security, bring up the bill.

WE NEED TO ENCOURAGE OIL AND GAS PRODUCTION AT HOME

(Mr. CALVERT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. CALVERT. Mr. Speaker, a strong domestic oil and gas industry not only means more jobs and a better economic future, but is essential for our Nation's national security.

Throughout the last decade America's oil and gas industry has lost a staggering number of jobs to sunnier business climates.

My Energy and Mineral Resources Subcommittee has been conducting hearings to highlight the need for a Federal energy policy that encourages domestic exploration and production.

This policy must allow our oil and gas producers to have greater public land access while reducing the regulatory burden on doing business at home.

I have no doubt that this Congress will reverse recent trends and move toward a policy that encourages exploration and production to ensure a vibrant healthy economy.

CONDEMNING BOMBING ATTACKS IN ISRAEL

(Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I rise this morning to condemn in the strongest possible terms the deadly bombings that have terrorized the people of Israel for the past 9 days. In Jerusalem, in Ashkelon, and most recently in Tel Aviv, suicide bombers representing the Islamic fundamentalist group Hamas have taken more than 50 innocent lives, injured hundreds, and placed the mideast peace process in jeopardy. In this time of mourning and reflection in Israel, I extend my own personal condolences to the families of those killed in these senseless acts of violence.

Just 2 years ago, Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat stood on the south lawn of the White House and signed the declaration of principles which set the historic peace process in motion. This morning, in the wake of the bombings, that peace seems as distant and elusive as ever.

At this critical hour, we in the United States Congress must reaffirm our commitment to the goal of bringing peace to the Middle East, and pledge to vigorously support efforts that will swiftly bring to justice those who seek to undermine that peace through cowardly acts of violence.

RECOGNIZING THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF THE PERSIAN GULF WAR

(Mr. BONILLA asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BONILLA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to remember the sacrifice and achievement of our Persian Gulf war veterans.

This month marks the fifth anniversary of the end of the war which liberated the small country of Kuwait and ensured access to the region's energy supplies.

Unfortunately, we have done little to reduce the threat of energy dependence.

Five years later the U.S. dependence on foreign oil has grown; America now imports 52 percent of its annual oil supply.

We import 9 million barrels of oil a day to satisfy demand.

For a country that is on the cutting edge of technology, there is no excuse for a lack of energy preparedness which places American lives at risk. U.S. producers have the capability to tap into an estimated 60-year supply of oil and natural gas that lies undiscovered in America. And they can do this without threatening the environment. Five years ago we learned a lesson—we need to open the doors to energy independence to ensure our freedom from foreign tyrants' threats.

CUTS IN EDUCATION PROGRAMS

(Mrs. CLAYTON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, it is inconsistent to talk about building for the future, while tearing down the present.

Yet, Members of this House seem ready to abandon education by making the largest cuts in our history, with overall funding for the Department of Education likely to be reduced by 25 percent.

In fiscal year 1994, 9 percent of the Federal budget was spent on education.

This year it is about 1.4 percent. On education spending, we are headed in the wrong direction.

We talk about restoring families and helping our young people.

Yet, we take away the very key to their ability to have useful and productive lives—the opportunity for an education.

Recent national polls show that Americans overwhelmingly support education and believe that it should be a top priority of Congress. Instead of a tax cut for the wealthy, we should put more money into education for our children and for the future.

We must restore these cuts. We must invest in America's families, America's children, America's future workers. We must be prepared to meet the challenges of the changing global economy.

Stop the education cuts and secure America's economic future.

WE MUST SHIFT EDUCATION DECISIONS FROM WASHINGTON TO LOCAL SCHOOL BOARDS

(Mr. HUTCHINSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, President Clinton in his recent State of the Union Address proposed one more Federal education program, this one to provide merit-based scholarships to the top 5 percent of high school graduates, but the fact is there are already 47 scholarship and fellowship programs operated by the Federal Government, and this highlights a point made by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GOODLING] at a press conference last week. He pointed out that our committee has discovered over 760 Federal education programs spanning 39 different agencies and departments. Many of these programs were designed to meet exactly the same goals, they overlap, they duplicate, and each has its own application process and its own set of regulations.

So why does President Clinton propose one more education program, program 761? Is it to improve the education of our children or merely to make us feel like we are educating our children by spending more money on more programs?

What we must do is shift education decisions from Washington bureaucrats to parents and local school boards. We can and we must do better.

REPUBLICAN-CONTROLLED CONGRESS MAKING GOALS IN EDUCATION AND HEALTH CARE UN-ATTAINABLE

(Mr. GEJDENSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, as I have been meeting in my district with

working people and men and women who run small businesses, the two needs that turn out to be the most prevalent are the needs of a good education and training for the workers and good health care for all of them as well. Both of these goals are fast becoming unattainable. By the action of the Republican-controlled Congress it will be more difficult in the next year for kids to go to college, to get training and education. It is becoming more and more difficult between HMO's and the inaction, the lack of action, by the Federal Government in health care. Small businesses cannot afford to buy health care even for their top managers, as the price of these programs continue to climb and the benefits continue to shrink. HMO's are endangering people's health and survival in the way many of them are being managed, and what we are doing is we are crippling the future of this country unless we are ready to make sure that our workers are the best trained and the best educated in the world.

We compete globally. The reality is there are a billion-two Chinese and Indians, another billion, that are going to compete with us. Unless we are well trained we are going to lose the economic battle. The decisions made here will determine who will win and who will lose.

STOP THE DUPLICATION OF GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

(Mr. CHRYSLER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. CHRYSLER. Mr. Speaker, as my colleagues know, continuing on with the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. HUTCHINSON], his comments on the duplicative nature of the Federal Government programs where 760 Federal programs spanning 39 separate agencies and departments and commissions; we also when we got here found that we had 163 job training programs, and now, with the Careers Act, we only have 4. The trade programs in this country; we had 115 trade programs and 19 different agencies. With my legislation to dismantle the Department of Commerce, we consolidated that into one trade office. The economic development programs; there were 315 economic development programs in the Federal Government. We need two, one for the private sector and one for the public sector.

We need to stop the duplication of the Government programs and get rid of this Government-knows-best attitude here in Washington, DC, because the American people cannot afford it any longer.

HOW TO AFFORD TO GIVE TAX RELIEF TO MIDDLE-INCOME PEOPLE

(Mr. DUNCAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago it was announced that AT&T was laying off 40,000 employees.

Then, several days ago, it was reported that Robert Allen, the head of AT&T, had made over \$16 million last year.

Mr. Speaker, this is almost obscene. There is no way that Mr. Allen could really have earned \$16 million for 1 year of work.

And to take this much money at the same time that thousands in his company are losing their jobs is really too cruel for words.

This excessive and exorbitant compensation was criticized even a columnist in yesterday's Wall Street Journal.

Also yesterday, most publications reported that average compensation for CEO's at 35 of our largest corporations averaged \$4.3 million and had gone up 23 percent since the year before.

I have said many times that the average person pays almost half of his or her income in taxes, counting taxes of all types, Federal, State, and local.

I do not favor higher taxes, but we need to give tax relief to middle-income people, and one way to help pay for it would be to raise the taxes on all these CEO's and athletes and others making over \$1 million a year.

TRIBUTE TO CHARLES COOK

(Mr. BARR asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BARR. Mr. Speaker, 54 years ago, in 1942, the security of liberty was not as certain as it is today. The flame of freedom was in danger of being completely snuffed out by those who sought to enslave the world.

Thankfully, freedom was preserved for us by a generation of patriotic benefactors who left the safety of their homes and traveled thousands of miles to rid the world of the despots who started World War II.

One of those patriots was Charles Cook. Cookie, as his friends knew him, passed away earlier this month, a half century after he was freed from a Japanese POW camp. You see, Charles Cook was a survivor of the infamous 1942 Bataan death march. Those who survived the Bataan death march and remained prisoners of the Japanese imperial army suffered more than most people living today could even imagine. But Charles Cook did not suffer in vain. He gave us a priceless legacy. Along with others of that great generation, he left the legacy of freedom for America and the rest of the world. It is for us now to preserve that gift.

We must recognize our inherited obligation, and be zealous custodians of Charles Cook's gift of liberty, which he purchased so dearly.

AMERICA CANNOT AFFORD ANOTHER 4 YEARS OF PRESIDENT CLINTON

(Mr. TIAHRT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TIAHRT. Mr. Speaker, in my hometown, if they had found you in a dark alley with 75 pounds of cocaine and 4 pounds of heroin in the trunk of your car, there is a general consensus that you have done something wrong. But a Clinton appointed judge, Judge Herold Bear, who freed drug smugglers because he deemed it normal for suspects to run from the police turned these drug runners free. The public outcry over this brand of justice has been astounding, and President Clinton ought to demand the resignation of this judge immediately.

But what bothers me most about this case is we see yet another example where President Clinton's words do not match his actions. He may talk like a law and order conservative, but he appoints liberal judges who let criminals walk. If it had been up to this judge, these cops in New York City would not have been able to arrest a woman who was smuggling 4 million dollars' worth of drugs to Michigan, enough drugs to push on every kid in the city's school system, push drugs on each one of them.

America cannot afford these liberal judges and America cannot afford another 4 years of President Clinton.

□ 1130

THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION HAS GONE FROM JUST SAY NO TO JUST SAY NOTHING REGARDING DRUGS

(Mrs. CUBIN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. CUBIN. Mr. Speaker, President Clinton and his administration have turned a blind eye to the alarming rise in youth drug abuse.

Marijuana use among 12- to 17-year-olds rose from 1.6 million in 1992 to 2.9 million in 1994. Between 1992 and 1994 the number of juveniles testing positive for marijuana more than doubled across the country in cities like Birmingham, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Phoenix, Portland, St. Louis, and San Francisco.

What was President Clinton doing during that time? Less than 1 month after he took office, in February 1993, he cut the staff at the office of drug control policy by 83 percent. Then he

eliminated drug testing for the White House staff.

This administration has gone from just say no to just say nothing and it has got to change to save our young people.

CORPORATE WELFARE

(Ms. McKINNEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. McKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Cato Institute issued this news release which said, "huge amounts in corporate welfare remain untouched."

Now, everyone in Washington knows that the Cato Institute is the furthest thing from a liberal think tank. Yet, even they understand that the corporate welfare state is about the only thing that is not being cut in order to balance the budget.

In fact, the Republican majority wants to cut Pell grants for 280,000 students while preserving subsidies for companies like McDonald's and Campbell's soup to advertise overseas. That Mr. Speaker, is a perverse set of priorities.

In this changing economy when workers are being axed in favor of cheap labor overseas or worker-replacing technologies, the last thing we should be doing is undermining educational opportunities of our future work force.

Mr. Speaker, the Republican majority needs to understand that what is good for our children's education, is good for America.

CUTTING STUDENT LOANS AND EDUCATION FUNDING PROGRAMS DOES NOT MAKE SENSE

(Mr. BROWN of Ohio asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, earlier this week I spoke in Wadsworth, OH, at the Wadsworth public library, to a group of young people and their parents who are looking in the next couple of years to attend college. It was mostly made up of sophomores and juniors in Wadsworth High School and Highland High School and other high schools in Medina County.

Mr. Speaker, before I spoke to this seminar, a young person and her father came up to me and said, "How come Republicans, how come NEWT GINGRICH wants to cut student loans? It simply does not make sense." The Gingrich budget wants to cut student loans \$4 billion, wants to make other cuts in the safe and drug free school program, Head Start, title I, Goals 2000, other education funding programs, another \$3 billion. It simply does not make sense.

If we are ever going to be as globally competitive as we need to be in this

country, we do not cut education. We do not cut student loans to middle-class families. We do not cut programs that help combat drug abuse in the schools. We do not cut title I. We do not cut school-to-work programs. Mr. Speaker, it simply does not make sense.

WE MUST PREVENT THE SHORT-CHANGING OF OUR CHILDREN'S EDUCATION

(Mr. LEVIN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, on Monday night I went to a school board meeting in one of my districts in suburban Detroit and talked with the school board that is working hard to make good things happen. There was real consternation about the cuts in education proposed by the majority here.

Then, yesterday morning, I was at an elementary school, Pattengill, in my old hometown of Berkley, MI, and I met with kids there in grades 1 through 3, and talked to their teachers. That program is supported by title I funds. There is a teacher with partial funding.

I read to and with the children, and I saw the results of an effective title I program. The test scores have gone up. The children are reading and beginning to learn basic math skills. What is being proposed on the majority side here to very much diminish the funding for those programs is only going to shortchange the children of America. We have to prevent that shortchanging.

WE CANNOT SHORTCHANGE OUR CHILDREN BY MAKING CUTS IN EDUCATION

(Mrs. SCHROEDER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, I believe that when someone shows you their leader, they are showing you a part of their soul. I must say, our soul around here is pretty sick. I am one of the few people who voted against the last continuing resolution because it was a 20 percent cut from education.

In my district in Denver, they were laying off Head Start workers because of this cut. Can you imagine our doing that to 3-year-olds, 4-year-olds, and 5-year-olds? That is wrong. What kind of a soul does it take to do that? I certainly hope that a lot of us wake up and find out that when we continue to have this little window to our soul by how we vote, people are going to get more and more alienated by what is going on in this town.

If we do not care about our children, if we do not prepare for our future, this

country is really on the wrong course. We must put our children first. We cannot shortchange them on education.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. EWING). Pursuant to clause 5 of rule I, the pending business is the question de novo of agreeing to the Speaker's approval of the Journal.

The question is on the Speaker's approval of the Journal of the last day's proceedings.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. TIAHRT. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 346, nays 65, answered "present" 2, not voting 18, as follows:

[Roll No. 45]

YEAS—346

Ackerman	Clayton	Fowler
Allard	Clement	Fox
Andrews	Clyburn	Frank (MA)
Archer	Coble	Franks (NJ)
Armey	Coburn	Frelinghuysen
Bachus	Coleman	Frisa
Baesler	Collins (GA)	Funderburk
Baker (CA)	Combest	Furse
Baker (LA)	Condit	Gallely
Balducci	Conyers	Ganske
Ballenger	Cooley	Gejdenson
Barcia	Cox	Gekas
Barr	Coyne	Geren
Barrett (NE)	Cramer	Gilchrest
Barrett (WI)	Crane	Gonzalez
Bartlett	Crapo	Goodlatte
Barton	Creameans	Goodling
Bass	Cubin	Gordon
Bateman	Cunningham	Goss
Becerra	Danner	Graham
Bellenson	Davis	Greenwood
Bentsen	de la Garza	Gunderson
Bereuter	Deal	Hall (OH)
Berman	Dellums	Hall (TX)
Bevill	Deutsch	Hamilton
Bilbray	Diaz-Balart	Hancock
Blirakis	Dicks	Hansen
Bishop	Dingell	Hastert
Bliley	Doggett	Hastings (FL)
Blute	Dooley	Hastings (WA)
Boehlert	Doolittle	Hayes
Boehner	Doyle	Hayworth
Bonilla	Dreier	Hefner
Bono	Duncan	Herger
Boucher	Dunn	Hobson
Brewster	Edwards	Hoekstra
Browder	Ehlers	Hoke
Brown (FL)	Ehrlich	Holden
Brownback	Emerson	Horn
Bryant (TN)	Engel	Hostettler
Bunn	English	Hoyer
Burr	Eshoo	Hunter
Burton	Evans	Hutchinson
Buyer	Ewing	Hyde
Callahan	Farr	Inglis
Calvert	Fattah	Istook
Camp	Fawell	Jackson (IL)
Campbell	Fields (LA)	Jackson-Lee
Canady	Fields (TX)	(TX)
Cardin	Flake	Jefferson
Castle	Flanagan	Johnson (CT)
Chabot	Foglietta	Johnson (SD)
Chambliss	Foley	Johnson, E. B.
Chenoweth	Forbes	Johnson, Sam
Chrysler	Ford	Johnston

Jones	Moran	Scott	LaFalce	McCarthy	Waldholtz
Kanjorski	Morella	Seastrand	Lipinski	Stokes	Zeliff
Kaptur	Murtha	Sensenbrenner			
Kasich	Myers	Shadeeg			
Kelly	Myrick	Shaw			
Kennedy (MA)	Nadler	Shays			
Kennedy (RI)	Neal	Shuster			
Kennelly	Nethercutt	Sisisky			
Kildee	Neumann	Skaggs			
King	Norwood	Skeen			
Kingston	Nussle	Skelton			
Kleczka	Oberstar	Slaughter			
Klink	Obey	Smith (MI)			
Klug	Orton	Smith (NJ)			
Knollenberg	Owens	Smith (TX)			
Kolbe	Oxley	Smith (WA)			
LaHood	Packard	Solomon			
Lantos	Parker	Souder			
Largent	Pastor	Spence			
LaTourette	Paxon	Spratt			
Laughlin	Payne (NJ)	Stark			
Lazio	Payne (VA)	Stearns			
Leach	Pelosi	Stenholm			
Lewis (CA)	Peterson (FL)	Stockman			
Lewis (KY)	Peterson (MN)	Studds			
Lightfoot	Petri	Stump			
Lincoln	Pomeroy	Stupak			
Linder	Porter	Talent			
Livingston	Portman	Tanner			
LoBlundo	Poshard	Tate			
Lofgren	Pryce	Tauzin			
Lowe	Quillen	Taylor (NC)			
Lucas	Quinn	Thomas			
Luther	Radanovich	Thornberry			
Maloney	Rahall	Thornton			
Manton	Ramstad	Thurman			
Manzullo	Rangel	Tiahrt			
Martini	Reed	Torres			
Matsui	Regula	Torricelli			
McCollum	Richardson	Upton			
McCrery	Riggs	Vucanovich			
McDade	Rivers	Walker			
McHale	Roberts	Walsh			
McHugh	Roemer	Wamp			
McInnis	Rogers	Ward			
McIntosh	Rohrabacher	Watts (OK)			
McKeon	Ros-Lehtinen	Waxman			
McKinney	Rose	Weldon (FL)			
McNulty	Roth	Weldon (PA)			
Meehan	Roukema	Weller			
Metcalfe	Roybal-Allard	White			
Meyers	Royce	Whitfield			
Mica	Salmon	Williams			
Miller (FL)	Sanders	Wilson			
Minge	Sanford	Wolf			
Mink	Sawyer	Woolsey			
Moakley	Saxton	Wynn			
Molinar	Scarborough	Yates			
Mollohan	Schaefer	Young (AK)			
Montgomery	Schiff	Young (FL)			
Moorhead	Schumer				

NAYS—65

Abercrombie	Hefley	Pickett
Bonior	Heineman	Pombo
Borski	Hilleary	Rush
Brown (CA)	Hilliard	Sabo
Brown (OH)	Hinchey	Schroeder
Clay	Jacobs	Serrano
Collins (IL)	Kim	Taylor (MS)
Costello	Latham	Tejeda
DeFazio	Levin	Thompson
DeLauro	Lewis (GA)	Torkildsen
Dornan	Longley	Towns
Ensign	Markey	Trafilant
Everett	Martinez	Velazquez
Fazio	Mascara	Vento
Filner	McDermott	Visclosky
Flowers (CT)	Meek	Volkmmer
Frost	Menendez	Waters
Gephardt	Miller (CA)	Watt (NC)
Gillmor	Ney	Wicker
Green	Oliver	Wise
Gutierrez	Ortiz	Zimmer
Gutknecht	Pallone	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—2

Gibbons	Harman
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NOT VOTING—18

Bryant (TX)	Clinger	Dixon
Bunning	Collins (MI)	Durbin
Chapman	DeLay	Gilman
Christensen	Dickey	Houghton

□ 1155

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota changed his vote from "nay" to "yea." So the Journal was approved.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 45, a journal vote, I was inadvertently absent. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

REMOVAL OF NAME OF MEMBER AS COSPONSOR OF H.R. 359

Mr. BONO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my name be removed as a cosponsor of the bill, H.R. 359.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. EWING). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

REMOVAL OF NAME OF MEMBER AS COSPONSOR OF H.R. 1963

Mr. SAXTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my name be removed as a cosponsor of the bill, H.R. 1963.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 927, CUBAN LIBERTY AND DEMOCRATIC SOLIDARITY [LIBERTAD] ACT OF 1996

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 370 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 370

Resolved, That upon adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider the conference report to accompany the bill (H.R. 927) to seek international sanctions against the Castro government in Cuba, to plan for support of a transition government leading to a democratically elected government in Cuba, and for other purposes. All points of order against the conference report and against its consideration are waived. The conference report shall be considered as read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Florida [Mr. DIAZ-BALART] is recognized for 1 hour.

□ 1200

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, for the purposes of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. BEILEN-SON], pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consid-

eration of this resolution, all time yielded is for purposes of debate only.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 370 provides for the consideration of the conference report for H.R. 927, the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act of 1996, usually referred to as the Helms-Burton bill, and waive all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration.

The House rules allow for 1 hour of general debate to be equally divided between the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on International Relations.

This conference report is the response of the United States, of the Congress, and the President, to the murder of three American citizens and another U.S. resident by Castro over international waters on February 24.

Helms-Burton is also premised upon the firm conviction that an accelerated end to the Stalinist dictatorship in Cuba is not only something that we need to strive for because of elemental notions of solidarity with the terrorized and oppressed people of Cuba—but also because the establishment of democracy in Cuba is in the national interest of the United States.

The Castro regime is, to its core, a gangster regime. It is a regime that answered a request, last month, by 130 dissident groups for permission to meet peacefully, by arresting 186 dissident leaders and independent journalists—as of last Thursday.

This is a regime that, to further intensify its latest Stalinist crackdown on its internal opposition, felt the need to shoot down two American civilian planes, killing three U.S. citizens and another U.S. resident, over international waters a few days ago.

The message Castro sent the Cuban people by those murders of Americans was clear: If I can murder Americans over international waters and get away with it, imagine what I can do to you. It's important to note that before the murderous pilots of those MiG's visually identified the unarmed Cessnas that they had been ordered to shoot down, the radar that was guiding them had locked on to a cruise ship with hundreds aboard.

And how does the supreme gangster himself defend the murders. Read this week's Time magazine. Castro says:

They dropped leaflets on Havana. It was a real provocation * * * we had been patient, but there are limits * * * in addition to these flights, there was also interference by the U.S. interests section in our internal affairs. What these people were doing was intolerable. They were giving money and paying the bills of dissidents * * * it was intolerable.

This is a regime that, according to the respected British publication Jane's Defence Weekly, has been sending special forces to be trained at the Hoa Binh Military Base in Communist Vietnam, since 1990, in preparation for strikes inside the United States in case of war. According to Jane's Defence

Weekly the purpose of those special forces in Castro's army, training in Vietnam, is to "Take the reality of war to the American people, in order to create internal pressures on Washington."

Let me briefly quote from a statement a few days ago by Senator DOLE: "U.S. policy toward Cuba has consequences around the globe. The world is still a dangerous place." Adversaries are watching our response to the murder of American citizens. Our response is being noted—by Russian hardliners, by North Korean generals, by state sponsors of terrorism in Teheran and Tripoli, by Serbian leaders, by the Chinese military eyeing Taiwan. Timidity only emboldens our enemies.

This conference report is the response of the Congress and the President to the murder of American citizens.

The conference report codifies, it puts into law, the existing embargo against Cuba, much of which exists only in regulations and miscellaneous executive orders. It will now take an act of Congress to modify the embargo, and no President will be able to weaken the embargo unless a democratic transition is underway in Cuba.

President Clinton is urged to seek international sanctions against the Cuban dictatorship.

The President is authorized to furnish assistance to democratic opposition and human rights groups in Cuba. The President is also asked to develop a plan to assist the Cuban people once a democratically-elected government is in place and to terminate the embargo once a democratic government—without Castro or his brother Raul—is in power.

The conference report calls for the denial of entry into the United States of any individual who trafficks in property stolen from Americans by Castro. American citizens will be able to sue, in American courts, those who traffick in property stolen from them by Castro. This provision will protect the property rights of American citizens, deter foreign investment in Cuba, and make it much more difficult for the Castro regime to obtain hard currency.

The conference report reduces foreign aid to those countries that provide assistance in support of the extraordinarily dangerous Cuban nuclear facility. Castro is trying to complete at Juragua. It also allows the President to cut aid to Russia, dollar for dollar, for its support of the intelligence facility to spy on the United States that the Russians still maintain in Cuba.

Just by filing Helms-Burton a year ago, foreign investment was cut in half in 1995 in comparison to 1994. When potential investors confirm that dealing in property stolen by Castro from Americans will expose them to the possibility of being excluded from the United States, no matter how unethical they may be, they will choose not to invest in Castro's slave economy.

By saying that we will not look kindly upon foreign interests dealing in property stolen from Americans, we are not acting in an extraterritorial fashion; we are protecting the property rights of American citizens, and in that way, also deterring foreign investment in Castro's apartheid economy.

The importance of codifying—putting into law—the embargo, cannot be over-emphasized.

No democratic transition from a long-term dictatorship in recent decades has been possible without some important form of external pressure.

Franco's Spain and the European Community; Trujillo's Dominican Republic and the OAS; Pinochet's Chile; apartheid South Africa; the Greece of the colonels.

Where there has been no external pressure, such as in China, there has been no democratic transition and human rights violations have increased. The Washington Post confirms today in page A10, that in the State Department's annual report on human rights, to be released today, the fundamental premise of United States policy toward China, that expanding trade will lead to greater individual freedoms for Chinese citizens, is simply invalid.

We will be able, by the measures in this conference report, including codification of the embargo, to maintain sufficient pressure not only to accelerate Castro's collapse, but also to see to it that his demise will lead to an independent Cuba with full political liberties and human rights for the now suffering Cuban people.

The Senate passed this conference report yesterday, 74 to 22. The President supports it. I urge my colleagues to support this rule and the conference report.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BEILENSON. Mr. Speaker, I thank our friend, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. DIAZ-BALART], for yielding the customary one-half hour of debate time to me. I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, we do not oppose the rule providing for the consideration of the conference report for the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act.

As the gentleman from Florida has explained, the rule waives all points of order against the conference report and, although we ought always to be cautious in providing blanket waivers for legislation, the granting of these waivers for this conference report is in accordance with our usual procedures when we consider conference reports in the House.

The chairman of the International Relations Committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN], in requesting the rule waiving all points of order, specifically referred to the scope of matters committed to the con-

ference. So Members should be aware that the conference agreement on this sweeping legislation includes provisions that were in neither the House nor the Senate bill.

Many of us, moreover, are deeply concerned about the provisions of the conference report itself and about its effect on U.S. policy.

Mr. Speaker, for many of our colleagues, this bill will be easy to support—it tightens the U.S. embargo on one of the world's most despised dictators. Yet, it is not likely that Fidel Castro will be hurt by this legislation. Ironically, the Helms-Burton Act—a radical departure from current United States policy—will actually weaken our ability to encourage democracy in Cuba.

The fall of communism in Eastern Europe should have taught us an important lesson: the enemy of a closed society, such as Cuba, is not increased isolation—it is greater contact with the outside world. The Soviet Union did not disintegrate because of an economic blockade—it was exposure to Western ideas, freedoms and prosperity that hastened the end to the cold war. In marked contrast, 37 years of economic embargo against Cuba has failed utterly to topple the Castro government.

The dubious premise behind this legislation is that the Cuban economy is on the brink of collapse, and that by tightening our notoriously porous embargo, the demise of the Castro regime can be achieved with one final push.

The reality is more complex. The Cuban economy has been showing signs of recovery, brought about by limited reforms and new trade relationships with the rest of the world. And just as domestic opposition groups inside Cuba—the only real threat to the Castro government—have been invigorated by widening contacts with the outside world, this legislation will turn back the clock by imposing further isolation and hardship on the Cuban people.

Moreover, by codifying the Executive orders that have maintained the Cuban embargo since 1959, this legislation locks the United States into a failed policy, and denies the President the flexibility needed to respond to any future democratic transition in Cuba.

Many of us are disappointed that the President has dropped his opposition to this bill. Nevertheless, Congress has consistently recognized that the President's hands should not be tied in matters of foreign affairs—that a wide variety of tools should be available to the President to act in the national interest abroad. But, this bill mandates intransigency. As changes occur in Cuba—and they will occur—the President—this President, or some future President—will be restricted from acting in the carefully calibrated fashion that has marked our response to other dictators, and other emerging democracies.

The United States is the only country in the world that maintains an economic embargo against Cuba—a fact that the Helms-Burton Act, somewhat fatuously, tries to change. Many of our closest allies, moreover, are greatly offended—as they well should be—by this legislation's attempt to coerce them into joining the embargo.

Countries such as Canada, and our allies in Western Europe, warn that provisions in this legislation violate international law, abrogate several treaties, abandon our commitment to international financial institutions and could lead to retaliation against United States interests elsewhere in the world. Moreover, the arrogance of this bill is striking—by following the mandates of this legislation, the United States will be imposing its own political agenda on countries—mostly friendly countries—throughout the world whose businesses are acting in full compliance with their own laws.

Finally, we are concerned by the manner in which the legislation seemingly subverts our national interest for the interests of a select few. The Helms-Burton Act gives unprecedented benefits to a few very wealthy former Cuban property owners—those who owned property in pre-Castro Cuba valued at more than \$50,000 when it was seized in 1959—by giving these individuals and corporations the unprecedented right to sue, in United States Federal courts, foreign companies doing business on land they once owned.

This right is not available to anyone who has lost property anywhere else in the world—not in Germany, Vietnam, Eastern Europe, or Russia—and it will obviously create a legal nightmare in our already overburdened Federal courts. But more troubling is the manner in which the legislation will allow a few individuals and companies to profit from the economic activity in Cuba this legislation condemns. By allowing wealthy former Cuban landowners to settle out of court with companies doing business in Cuba, these individuals can now share in the profits to ongoing Cuban investment. Thus, the Helms-Burton bill succeeds, in effect, in lifting the embargo for a select few, and perversely creates an incentive for increased economic development in Cuba, from which only a small minority of Cuban-Americans will benefit.

Let me be clear and end it here. This debate is not about our opinion of Fidel Castro—he is one of the more abhorrent dictators of this century. We uniformly condemn Cuba's recent downing of civilian aircraft in clear violation of international law, and our hearts go out to the families of the pilots who perished.

But this bill is rash, extreme and misguided—it runs contrary to our experience of dealing with repressive re-

gimes elsewhere in the world, and it is not in our own national interest. In the words of Louis Desloge, a conservative Cuban-American:

Implementing an aggressive engagement policy to transmit our values to the Cuban people and to accelerate the burgeoning process of reform occurring on the island has a far better chance of ending Castro's rule than the machinations of [the] Helms-Burton [Act].

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote against the conference report.

□ 1215

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of our time.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, the imagination of our opponents is truly amazing, as is the gentleman who was cited and called a conservative, that very well-known anti-embargo activist.

Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON], the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Miami, FL, for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, we just heard the previous speaker say we, the United States of America, are the only country that has levied sanctions against Cuba. Yes, is that not a shame? That is going to change come the next election, my friends. With 250 million consuming Americans with the highest buying power in the world, it is about time that we told some of our allies that we do not like standing alone. That is what Ronald Reagan did back in 1981 when he pulled them all together and we stopped communism dead in its tracks. No more spread of communism. Democracy is breaking out all over the world.

If we have to stand alone, we will. But these sanctions are going to stand until atheistic, deadly communism is dead in this hemisphere.

Needless to say, I rise in strong support of this legislation. I really commend the gentleman from Miami, FL [Mr. DIAZ-BALART], as well as the gentlewoman from Florida [Ms. ROSELEHTINEN], who have been so valiant in bringing this legislation, along with the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN], the chairman of the Committee on International Relations, and the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON], the chairman of the subcommittee. They are all to be highly commended to be here in this timely manner.

Last week's incident under which Castro killed four Americans, and they were Americans, underscores the need to start taking the situation seriously. For over 30 years we have tolerated Castro with a half-hearted embargo. The holes in the embargo, plus billions of dollars, \$6 billion a year from the former Soviet Union, has allowed this dictator to survive and spread this atheistic communism.

Although I do not know it, Mr. Speaker, there may have been a good reason for not pushing Castro harder during the cold war, but certainly not now. It is time to get serious, and this legislation does get serious. That is why Castro is so upset about it. That is why the Russians are so upset about it, the Russians that we are giving billions of dollars to in aid. And they turn around and aid and abet this dictator? And that is why so many of our allies are upset, too. This legislation will hit them where it hurts, in their pocket-books.

Regarding our allies, Mr. Speaker, there is no stronger supporter of this treaty organization called NATO than this Member of Congress. I do not take lightly the fact that many of them are concerned about this legislation. But let us be blunt: It is time for them to understand that we will not go merrily along while they provide a lifeline to this Communist just off our coast who is in fact a mortal enemy of the United States.

Our allies, especially Canada, to the north, and my district depends on a lot of that trade with Canada, but they should be put on notice we will not subjugate our national interests to their financial interests. Human decency and human rights come first before any dollar. Nor should we continue to grant them open access to our huge market—as I said before, 250 million Americans, they lick their chops to do business with the United States—if they insist on supporting Castro. I call on the President to drive home those points with them.

Mr. Speaker, Castro is teetering on the brink. Cuba's economy is in a meltdown. Communism does not work. Take away the \$6 billion propping them up, and it is going down, down, down. It is only a matter of time before communism is dead in Cuba, as long as we enact legislation like this.

Castro has threatened renewed terrorism against the United States of America. The latest bombings in Israel show just how easily that can be done. We are so vulnerable. That could happen so easily right here in the United States of America.

With Russia's help Castro is constructing a dangerous nuclear power facility based on old faulty designs. Not only does this facility potentially subject us to a Chernobyl style disaster, but we can surely expect Castro to do what North Korea is doing, and that is to try to exploit the technology for the purposes of building nuclear weapons. And that cannot happen in this hemisphere.

We have had enough of this tyrant. It is time to bring this awful era of Fidel Castro to a close. Adoption of this conference report today will accelerate the arrival of that great day for both the Cuban people and the American people. Please come over here and vote for this rule and vote for this bill.

Mr. BEILENSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MOAKLEY], the ranking member of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from California for yielding time to me. He made a very eloquent statement yesterday in the Rules Committee and I agreed with him entirely.

Mr. Speaker, this rule provides for the consideration of a very bad bill that I worry will have some very bad consequences.

Make no mistake about it the shutdown by the Cuban Government of two unarmed Cessnas nearly 2 weeks ago was an unconscionable act. President Clinton was right in rallying the international community to denounce this terrible overreaction and I believe the President was right in proposing additional sanctions against Cuba.

But I believe it would be wrong for this Congress and this President to embrace the Helms-Burton legislation because of this terrible act.

Helms-Burton is a bad bill, plain and simple.

Even though the White House has recently reversed its position on this bill, I would suggest that my colleagues read the letter the White House wrote us last fall when they very eloquently and persuasively made the case against Helms-Burton.

In fact, Secretary of State Warren Christopher expressed his concern that the bill would actually damage prospects for a peaceful transition in Cuba.

He further indicated that the inflexible standards mandated in the bill would make it difficult to respond to a rapidly evolving situation should it occur in Cuba.

Mr. Speaker, the Secretary was absolutely right Helms-Burton would put United States foreign policy toward Cuba in a statutory straitjacket.

And while passions are running understandably high and outrage is certainly justified the fact remains that Helms-Burton was bad policy a few months ago and it is bad policy today.

Our allies have expressed deep concern over the bill's provisions as they relate to foreign companies. Yesterday all of us received the statement by the European Union indicating strong opposition to the Helms-Burton bill.

Similar statements of opposition have come from Canada's Foreign Minister and leading diplomats around the world.

Mr. Speaker, my strongest objection to this legislation is that it will not encourage the departure of Fidel Castro and it will only make the lives of average Cubans more miserable—especially Cuban children economically strangling the island only hurt the most vulnerable—and I'm not sure that's what this Congress really wants to do.

I believe this bill is exactly what Castro wants at a time when communism

has crumbled around the globe; at a time when the Cuban economy is in disarray; and at a time when the internal opposition in Cuba seems to be getting stronger. This bill only gives Castro an excuse to be more repressive and to justify his failed system.

So, I say to my colleagues, if you want to get at Fidel Castro, come up with a different approach. Helms-Burton will only breathe new life into his dictatorship.

Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD editorials, which have recently appeared in the New York Times, the Boston Globe, the Chicago Tribune, the Washington Post, the Detroit News, the Philadelphia Inquirer, the Los Angeles Times, and the Baltimore Sun, all opposing Helms-Burton. I would also like to submit an article from the Washington Post exposing a little known loophole in the embargo and the statement by the European Union in opposition to the legislation. And I would like to submit a statement by Alfredo Duran, who fought at the Bay of Pigs and was imprisoned for over a year, the President of the Cuban Committee for Democracy, and a statement by Eloy Guitierrez Menoyo, who was a political prisoner for 22 years in Cuba.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, let me express again my strong opposition to the bill for which this rule provides consideration. I know the authors have the very best of intentions—but I firmly believe that by passing this bill we are making a big mistake.

Mr. Speaker, I include the following material for the RECORD:

[From the New York Times, Mar. 2, 1996]

A BAD BILL ON CUBA

The Clinton Administration has done many things right and one thing terribly wrong in response to Cuba's shutdown of two unarmed planes flown by Miami-based exiles.

Providing a Coast Guard escort to accompany an exile flotilla to the site of the downing today registers American determination to protect the security of international waters and airspace. Equally important, it minimizes the risk of either the exiles' or Havana's provoking a new incident. The Administration's decision earlier this week to suspend charter flights to Cuba and to impose travel restrictions on Cuban diplomats in this country made clear that Havana had attacked not just anti-Castro activists but international law itself.

However, the Administration is about to make a huge mistake by signing into law a bill, sponsored by Senator Jesse Helms and Representative Dan Burton, that aims to coerce other countries into joining the American embargo of Cuba. By dropping his opposition to the bill, Mr. Clinton junks his own balanced policy for encouraging democracy in Cuba and signs on to an approach that will inevitably slow the opening of Cuban society and pick a pointless quarrel with American allies.

The bill threatens foreign companies with lawsuits and their executives with exclusion from American soil if they use any property in Cuba ever confiscated from anyone who is now a United States citizen. Some of its provisions appear to violate international law

and trade treaties, and the Administration had been saying since last summer that it would veto the measure unless these provisions were removed.

The United States is the only country that maintains an economic embargo against Cuba, an outdated policy that has failed in 35 years to topple the Castro Government. Trying to coerce other countries to join the embargo is offensive to American allies and unlikely to succeed.

Backers of the Helms-Burton bill believe the Cuban economy has been so enfeebled by the loss of subsidized Soviet trade that the Castro regime can be brought down with one final shove. But Cuba's economy, though hurting, has already revived from the depths of the early 1990's. Its recovery has been built on austerity, limited reforms and new trade relationships with the rest of the world. It is unrealistic to think that a reinforced American embargo would bring Mr. Castro down.

What Havana really worries about is the resurgence of opposition in Cuba itself. Opposition groups have been invigorated by Cuba's widened contacts with the outside world. They are also encouraged by a more supportive attitude on the part of Miami-based exile organizations. These used to view all Cubans who remained on the island, even opposition activists, with suspicion. Now groups like Brothers to the Rescue, the organization whose planes were shot down last week, see opposition groups on the island as a key to political change.

The Castro regime is alarmed by this potential link between domestic opponents and outside support groups, heralded by Brothers to the Rescue's previous airborne leafletting of Havana. Indeed, Havana's concern over this prospect may have been a factor in last week's missile attack against the exiles' planes. Washington should be doing everything it can to promote opposition within Cuba by encouraging more human interchange between the island and the outside world, not less.

The Helms-Burton Act is not an appropriate response to Cuba's murderous deed. It is a wholesale policy reversal that weakens America's ability to encourage democracy in Cuba. Mr. Clinton should return to his original sound position.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 3, 1996]

THE GREAT CUBAN EMBARGO SCAM

(By Louis F. Desloge)

Virtually everyone agrees that President Clinton should retaliate forcefully against Cuba's tragic and murderous downing of two civilian aircraft last weekend. But the least effective and most counterproductive punishment is Clinton's acquiescence to the Helms-Burton bill to tighten the U.S. embargo of Cuba. This legislation, which the White House endorsed last week, albeit with reservations, will only play into Castro's hands by creating an expansive loophole for property claimants, especially wealthy Cuban Americans, to circumvent the embargo.

Jesse Helms and Dan Burton, conservatives whom I admire, are no doubt sincere in their motivation to subvert Castro's rule by applying economic pressure on his regime. However, they may very well achieve just the opposite of what they seek by buttressing, not undermining, Castro's support at home and weakening, not strengthening, the embargo's prohibition on trade with Cuba.

The Helms-Burton bill is a slick stratagem. Its stated purpose is to tighten the embargo by allowing Cuban Americans to have

the unprecedented right to sue, in U.S. federal courts, foreign companies doing business on land once owned by these exiles. The idea is to discourage foreign business investment in Cuba, thus undermining the island's financial recovery which, the bill's supporters naively hope, will result in a collapse of the Castro regime. The bill's practical consequences are a different story.

A little-noticed provision in the Helms-Burton measure will enable a small group of Cuban Americans to profit from the economic activity occurring in Cuba.

To understand this provision, one must first know who helped write it. As the Baltimore Sun reported last May, the bill was drafted with the advice of Nick Gutierrez, an attorney who represents the National Association of Sugar Mill Owners of Cuba and the Cuban Association for the Tobacco Industry. Gutierrez acknowledges his involvement, as does Ignacio Sanchez, an attorney whose firm represents the Bacardi rum company. Sanchez told the Sun that he worked on the bill in his capacity as a member of the American Bar Association's Cuban Property Rights Task Force and not as representative of the rum company.

It is not hard to surmise what these former sugar, tobacco and rum interests will do if and when the law takes effect: sue their competitors who are now doing business in Cuba.

Gutierrez told the Miami Herald last fall as saying that he (and his clients) are eyeing a Kentucky subsidiary of British-American Tobacco (B.A.T.) that produces Lucky Strike cigarettes. B.A.T. has a Cuban joint venture with the Brazilian firm Souza Cruz to produce tobacco on land confiscated from his clients, Gutierrez claims.

Bacardi would be able to sue Pernod Ricard, the French spirits distributor, currently marketing Havana Club rum worldwide. Bacardi claims that Pernod Ricard's rum is being produced in the old Bacardi distillery in the city of Santiago de Cuba.

Here is how this vexatious scheme will work if Helms-Burton becomes law. The former landowner of a tobacco farm files a suit in federal court against British-American Tobacco and seeks damages. If both sides want to avoid prolonged litigation they can reach an out-of-court settlement whereby the former tobacco grower can now share in the profits of the ongoing B.A.T.-Brazilian joint venture in Cuba. Likewise, Bacardi could reach a settlement to get a share of Pernod Ricard's profits from sales of Havana Club internationally.

These agreements do not need the blessing of the U.S. government. This is the million dollar loophole in Helms-Burton. The bill states: "an action [lawsuit] . . . may be brought and may be settled, and a judgment rendered in such action may be enforced, without the necessity of obtaining any license or permission from any agency of the United States."

What will be the practical result? Foreign companies like Pernod Ricard and British-American Tobacco are unlikely to abandon viable operations in Cuba because of a lawsuit. More likely, these foreign businessmen will agree, reluctantly, to pay off Cuban exiles suing under Helms-Burton. Given the choice of forfeiting millions of dollars invested in Cuba or their financial interests in the United States, the practical business solution might be to give the exiles a cut of the action. Far better to have 90 percent of something than 100 percent of nothing, these businessmen will reason. Allowing Cuban Americans a share of their profits will just be factored in as another cost of doing business.

Indeed, Helms-Burton gives the Cuban exile community a strong financial stake in Castro's Cuba. If the foreign businesses simply withdrew in the face of Helms-Burton, the exiled tobacco, sugar and rum interests would get nothing. But if British-American Tobacco or Pernod Ricard or any other foreign firm now doing business with the Castro regime offers an out-of-court settlement to Cuban American exiles, who is going to turn them down? Given the option, at least some people are going to choose personal enrichment over the principle of not doing business with Fidel. After all, Fidel has been in power for 37 years, and the exiles are not getting any younger.

The Clinton White House is not unaware of the scam at the heart of the bill. Before the shooting down of the plane, the president had objected to the provisions allowing U.S. nationals to sue companies doing business in Cuba. During last week's conference with Congress, the president's men surrendered and asked for a face-saving compromise: a provision giving the president the right to block such deals later on if they do not advance the cause of democracy in Cuba. But how likely is Clinton to block Cuban Americans in Florida, a key election state, from suing Castro's foreign collaborators later in the final months of an election year? Not very.

The bottom line is that Clinton, in the name of getting tough with Castro, has endorsed a bill that allows the embargo to be evaded and protects Cuban Americans who want to legally cut deals to exploit their former properties in Cuba while the rest of the American business community must watch from the sidelines.

In fact, the legislation could encourage a massive influx of new foreign investment in Cuba. Armed with the extortionist powers conferred by the legislation, former property holders could shop around the world for prospective investors in Cuba and offer them a full release on their property claim in exchange for a "sweetheart" lawsuit settlement entitling them to a piece of the economic action. Thus, the embargo is legally bypassed and everyone laughs all the way to the bank.

Actually, not everyone would benefit. The Clinton-endorsed version of Helms-Burton only exempts the wealthiest cabal of Cuba's former elites from the embargo's restraints. The bill will only allow those whose former property is worth a minimum value of \$50,000 (sans interest) to file suits. And you had to be very rich to have owned anything of that value in Cuba in 1959. If you were a Cuban butcher, baker or candlestick maker, too bad. This bill is not for you.

What could be more useful to Castro in his efforts to shore up his standing with the Cuban people? The spectacle of the U.S. Congress kowtowing to these Batista-era plantation owners and distillers provides Fidel his most effective propaganda weapon since the Bay of Pigs debacle. Castro surely knows that the overwhelming majority of the Cuban people—60 percent of whom were born after 1959—would deeply resent what can be characterized, not unfairly, as an attempt to confiscate their properties and revert control over Cuba's economy to people who symbolize the corrupt rule of the 1950s. Rather than undermining Castro's rule, this bill would drive the people into his camp.

Where is the logic in denying the vast majority of the American people the right to become economically engaged in Cuba if it is extended to only a select, wealthy few? Is the concept of "equal protection under the

law" served if non-Cuban Americans are now relegated to the status of second-class citizens? Or is the real intent of this bill to allow rich Cuban exiles the opportunity to get a jump start and thereby head off the "gringo" business invasion certain to follow the demise of the embargo and the inevitable passing of Castro.

Let us put an end to this special interest subterfuge. Whatever obligation the United States had to my fellow Cuban Americans has been more than fulfilled by providing us safe haven and the opportunity to prosper and flourish in a free society. Providing us, once again, another special exemption which makes a mockery of the American Constitution, laws and courts, not to mention making a farce of U.S.-Cuba policy, is an insult to both the American and Cuban people.

If we are going to lift the embargo for a few wealthy exiles then, fine, let us lift it for all Americans. To be fair and consistent, why not liberate the entire American community to bring the full weight of its influence to bear upon Cuban people? Implementing an aggressive engagement policy to transmit our values to the Cuban people and to accelerate the burgeoning process of reform occurring on the island has a far better chance of ending Castro's rule than the machinations of Helms-Burton.

[From the Boston Globe, Feb. 27, 1996]

MISSTEPS ON CUBA

When Fidel Castro sent his MIG fighters up against two alleged intruders last weekend, he not only shot down two unarmed civilian aircraft and killed American citizens, he shot himself in the foot as well.

In the last few months there had been signs that relations between Cuba and the United States—frozen for more than 30 years—might be beginning to thaw. In October President Clinton eased some of the travel and financial restrictions on Cuba in the interests of greater "people to people" contact. This year there has been a steady stream of congressmen visiting the island, each receiving the obligatory audience with "the bearded one."

American businessmen are becoming receptive to potential opportunities in Cuba. Some say that more Americans visited Cuba in January than in any month since Castro came to power in 1959.

Seeing his economy crash and burn after the end of support from the Communist bloc earlier this decade, Castro desperately needs foreign investments; an end to the American economic embargo of his island would ease the poverty of his people.

An even more Draconian twist to the embargo, in the form of the Helms-Burton bill, is waiting in the wings. Passed by both houses but still awaiting action in conference committee, Helms-Burton would not only tighten existing restrictions, but would punish our allies who trade with Cuba. The House version, for example, could "restrict" entry into the United States of corporate officers, even shareholders, of companies doing business in Cuba, a measure which might be in violation of our trade agreements with Canada in particular.

Some congressmen, such as Joseph Moakley, told Castro last month that the United States and Cuba had reached a "crossroads." If Helms-Burton were signed into law it would "end any possibility for improved relations anytime in the near future." He told Castro that there "must be more movement in Cuba in regard to human rights * * *"

Only last week, however, Castro arrested 100 dissidents and human-rights activists

who were seeking a peaceful dialogue with the Cuban regime. This upset the European Union, which is trying to work out an economic-cooperation treaty with Cuba, and made it all the more difficult for those who are working to defeat Helms-Burton in this country.

Last weekend Castro made their task next to impossible. With large Cuban-American communities in swing states such as New Jersey and Florida, seeming soft on Cuba in an election year is not something politicians want.

But the Helms-Burton bill is bad law. It was bad law before Castro's stupid over-reaction to the admittedly provocative flights, and it is bad law now. It is to be hoped that cool heads in Congress and the White House will realize that in time.

[From the Chicago Tribune, Mar. 1, 1996]

SURRENDERING U.S. POLICY ON CUBA

After more than 30 years of them, it should be clear that trade sanctions against Cuba will not force Fidel Castro to surrender. What a shame, then, that a great power like the United States has surrendered its foreign policy to a tiny population of hard-line anti-Castro Cubans. What an embarrassment!

By agreeing this week to impose new economic penalties against Cuba, President Clinton and the Republican-controlled Congress have proven that, given a choice between sound foreign policy and pandering to the rabid anti-Castro crowd in a critical electoral state, they'll pander.

In no way do we defend Castro's dictatorship or the outrageous disregard for human life represented by Cuba's downing last weekend of two small civilian aircraft. But in that regard, an old American adage is instructive: Don't go looking for trouble, it cautions, 'cause it'll find you anyway.

Brothers to the Rescue, an exile group, went looking for trouble by violating Cuba's sovereign air space to drop leaflets and by playing hide-and-seek with Cuban jets along its periphery.

By law, private citizens may not make foreign policy. Yet the Cuban exiles invited this "crisis," if they didn't actually manufacture it, and suckered both a Democratic president and a Republican Congress into making policy to suit their purposes.

Ironically, the new sanctions, while aimed at isolating Castro and weakening his power, are certain only to complicate trade relations with key U.S. allies and commercial partners such as Canada, Mexico and France.

Under the sanctions, U.S. visas will be denied to foreign corporate executives—and their stockholders—if these firms are among those that have invested billions of dollars in Cuban property. (The U.S. is the only nation that observes the absurd embargo of Cuba.)

Another provision would allow U.S. citizens to file suit against foreign firms utilizing property that was seized by Castro. But in a cynical provision designed to neuter that very same proposal, the president is granted power to waive the rule every six months to throw out the backlog of anticipated cases.

Like all dictators, Castro shows unwavering patience in allowing his people to suffer. But if America wants to influence Cuba to liberalize, then more ties—not a trade embargo—is the answer.

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 27, 1996]

CUBA'S BRUTALITY

No one concerned for regional stability and air safety can fail to condemn Cuba's brutal

downing of two small unarmed civilian planes on Saturday. In this latest mission by Brothers to the Rescue, the two planes and a third that made it back to Miami had in fact ignored Cuban warnings as well as official American cautions not to penetrate Cuban air-space. Nor was it clear whether their purpose was the stated humanitarian one of rescuing fleeing rafters or the alleged political one of overflying Havana. But this is no excuse for the attack. In such circumstances, international law requires warning off the approaching aircraft. Instead, the Castro government, having considered for months how to react to these flights, ignored American urgings to stay on a peaceful and legal path and shot to kill.

The Cuban attack caught President Clinton at a difficult time and place. He does not wish to be outflanked politically in a potential swing state, Florida, with a large Cuban-exile population and a presidential primary coming up two weeks from today. Nor does he want, in expressing the prevailing and justified outrage, to let it overwhelm his previous efforts to open up certain avenues of communication and relief for the Cuban people, or to interfere with agreed procedures of legal emigration. Hence the measures he announced yesterday to notch up pressure on the Communist regime, including suspending Havana-Miami charter flights and working with Congress to selectively tighten an already tight embargo.

Given the tensions Fidel Castro churns on the American scene, the Clinton proposals were bound to be attacked not only by Republicans campaigning for their party's presidential nomination in Florida but also by harder-line factions among the state's million Cuban Americans. From these sources now come calls for a military response—an air patrol to knock down rising Cuban MiGs or a blockade to keep Fidel Castro from either receiving foreign ships or expelling a new flood of refugees to Florida.

These measures would be counter-productive. If put into effect, they would leave the United States largely isolated among other nations. The better course remains to keep international diplomatic and private influence focused—in discussions on ending the embargo, for instance—on opening political space for human rights advocates, independent social and professional organizations, and democrats. As the recent crackdown on Concielo Cubano demonstrates, this isn't easy. But over time it offers hope.

[From the Detroit News, Feb. 29, 1996]

CUBA INCIDENT: CORRECT RESPONSE

The downing late last week of two unarmed civilian planes by Cuban military jets off the coast of Cuba was a brutal and cowardly act. But President Bill Clinton properly resisted the temptation in a political season to overreact. The administration's response was reasonably measured, even as it sought to condemn Cuba in the United Nations.

President Clinton has suspended all air charter transportation to Cuba, vowed to reach an agreement on tightened trade sanctions against Cuba, asked Congress to divert funds from Cuba's \$100 million in frozen assets to compensate the families of the downed pilots and restricted travel to Cuba by Americans.

But the president didn't end travel to Cuba; he proposed requiring visitors to go through a third country to reach the island nation. Government officials estimate that about 120,000 to 130,000 people travel from the United States to Cuba each year. If the re-

quirement that they route themselves through a third country slows the flow, Cuba will suffer from a loss of revenue in hard currency.

The proposed sanctions are in line with this country's 30-year-old policy of enforcing a trade embargo on Cuba. Its economy was propped up by the Soviet Union, but the dissolution of the old Soviet empire has thrust the regime of Fidel Castro on hard times.

The shootings necessitated punishment from Washington, but stiffer trade sanctions and restricted travel are not the best long-term solution for inducing change in Cuba. Mr. Clinton last fall moved to ease relations with Fidel Castro's regime. The administration then was right to do so. Commercial and cultural relations with Cuba ultimately will serve to weaken the grip of the aging communist dictator, whose misrule has given his countrymen decades of economic ruin.

The administration's two-prong policy on the shootings is also well-judged. To complement its own reprisals, it moved to obtain a condemnation of Cuba's action in the United Nations. The UN instead "deplored" Cuba's action, which is taken as a sign that it will not adopt its own trade sanctions.

But in all of its actions, the Clinton administration has moved to maintain control of this country's Cuba policy. The flights near the Cuban coast by a Cuban emigre group were clearly meant to provoke the Cuban government. The Cubans in the last several weeks had issued warnings that the flights should cease. Whether or not the civilian pilots actually violated Cuban air space remains in dispute.

Given the ambiguity of the situation, the Clinton administration is right not to let the Cuban emigre group get it into a confrontation. The group responsible for the flights has promised to continue them this week. But the new flights should be at their own risk. Washington, not Miami, should be the focus of U.S.-Cuba policy. And if the group files phony flight plans, the administration should consider grounding its aircraft.

The president's response drew criticism from some of his Republican challengers, but this smacks of the criticism he dealt former President George Bush on Bosnia. It is easy to talk tough when one is out of office.

For now, the Castro regime should feel the pain resulting from American displeasure over the shooting incident. But the long-term policy for breaking up the Castro regime should be more contacts and more commerce.

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Feb. 27, 1996]

HOLD THE BLOCKADE

THOSE CRYING FOR MILITARY ACTION AGAINST CUBA OUGHT TO PUT SATURDAY'S ATTACKS INTO CONTEXT.

Let's have a little perspective, please, on the Cuban downing of two civilian planes last Saturday.

To hear GOP candidates (and some Cuban exile groups) tell it, this is the most heinous international crime since Hitler's invasions, and should be fought as fiercely. Send U.S. warplanes, says Pat Buchanan. Amateur hour in the White House, scoffs Bob Dole.

Fortunately, President Clinton has been level-headed enough not to blow this incident out of all proportion. His call for U.N. Security Council condemnation of Cuba, and Cuban payment of compensation to the families of the downed pilots, is about what the sorry episode merits.

Those who want tougher action should examine the facts.

The two downed Cessnas were piloted by Cuban Americans belonging to a group called Brothers to the Rescue, which is supposed to aid Cubans trying to escape by sea to America. But the flow of refugees has mostly stopped since Washington began repatriating in August 1994.

So what were the planes doing? This Cuban American group has frequently overflown Cuban airspace, illegally, and last January dropped anti-Castro leaflets on, Havana. On Saturday's flight, the pilots were warned by Havana air controllers not to enter Cuban airspace. They replied that they would do so anyway, adding, "we are aware we are in peril."

U.S. officials say a third plane that escaped did enter Cuban airspace, while the two downed planes were shot by a Cuban MIG-29 in international waters. They also say, rightly, that no country has the legal right to shoot down unarmed planes that don't threaten national security; Cuban air controllers should have issued warnings.

But there is no question that Brothers to the Rescue was trying to provoke a Cuban reaction by repeatedly violating Cuban airspace to pursue their anti-Castro cause. No matter how one admires the pilots' bravery, or despises the Castro regime, that fact is clear.

Cuba is now nothing more than a historic leftover whose communist regime is bound to dissolve soon. To further isolate the population—by cutting phone contacts or family remittances from America—would only slow the foreign contacts that help undermine the regime.

Mounting a full-scale naval blockade would put America at odds with all its allies. Similarly, the Helms-Burton bill in Congress—which the President has opposed but now promises to work on—would also make international mischief unless it is rewritten. As it now stands, the bill would legitimize suits by Americans against many third-country firms that trade with Cuba. Do we want to start trade wars with our allies over their commerce with Cuba?

That, not Mr. Clinton's reasoned response, sounds like amateur hour.

[From the Los Angeles Times, Feb. 27, 1996]

WEIGHING THE RESPONSE TO CUBA'S BRUTAL ATTACKS

CLINTON'S TASK IS TO PUNISH CASTRO, NOT THE CUBAN PEOPLE

The Cuban air force downing of two civilian aircraft last weekend, and the resultant deaths of four Cuban Americans aboard, was a blatantly illegal and needless act of provocation by Fidel Castro's government. President Clinton is right to condemn it in the strongest terms.

But Clinton must not allow Castro's latest act of brutality to push him too far, and he sensibly appears to have a hard but well-measured course in mind. To be provoked into a short-sighted overreaction could damage U.S.-Cuban long-term relations even further. The Administration's strategy may not please some of Castro's most ardent enemies in this country, but it will make it easier for Washington and Havana to resume normal relations in that not-too-distant future when Castro is gone and the long communist dictatorship comes to its inevitable end.

Clinton has announced that he will seek legislation to compensate the families of the four missing and presumed dead fliers from Cuban assets that have been impounded in this country. He also announced there will be new restrictions on the movement and number of Cuban diplomats in the United

States and the suspension of charter air travel to Cuba. Lastly, he will expand the reach of Radio Marti, the U.S. government broadcast service into Cuba, a long-time burl under Castro's saddle. These are all reasonable responses.

Less reasonable, and possibly counterproductive, is Clinton's willingness to discuss with Congress possible administration support for the so-called Burton-Helms bill, legislation that would tighten the existing U.S. economic embargo on Cuba. While bills like Burton-Helms reflect an understandable U.S. frustration with the Castro regime, that legislation, like the embargo itself, would cause ancillary problems in Washington's relationship with other nations, including important allies and trading partners like Canada and Spain. Unless the State Department can help Congress rewrite Burton-Helms so that it aims toward the normalcy of key international trade agreements like NAFTA—a prospect that seems highly unlikely—it is best tossed in the congressional trash bin.

It is expected that the United Nations will soon join the United States in condemning the irrational order to set Cuba's MIG warplanes upon the small civilian craft flown by the anti-Castro pilots. Perhaps U.N. debate will bring out more facts about this incident than are now publicly known. For instance, what were the exact whereabouts of the planes at the moment they were attacked? The U.S. and Cuban government versions differ enormously. The Cubans say that the planes were inside their territory, while Washington and Brothers to the Rescue, the Cuban American organization to which the planes belonged, maintain that the aircraft were flying over international waters. It is, in fact, illegal to shoot at any unarmed civilian aircraft, according to international civil air agreements. Havana will have a lot of explaining to do if it hopes to come close to justifying the deaths of these four people.

At least some of the blame for this tragedy may lie with Brothers to the Rescue. Since 1991, the organization of Cuban American pilots has flown 1,700 missions in the skies around Cuba. At least twice, Brothers to the Rescue pilots have flown all the way to Havana to drop anti-Castro leaflets. Were the Brothers trying to provoke an incident with Cuba on the eve of Congress' consideration of the Burton-Helms bill? Possibly, but even if they were, and no matter how provocative those flights might seem, they cannot justify Saturday's brutal response.

Is Castro trying to send a message to Miami and Washington, not to mention the Cuban people, with this bloody incident? Is he trying to prove, yet again, that he will tolerate no political dissent from his aging and increasingly weak regime? Perhaps, but ultimately his attempts to hang onto power are futile. Someday, the sooner the better, the aging dictator will be gone and a new era of relations between Havana and Washington will begin. As Clinton ponders how to react to this latest outrage, the president must keep in mind those long-term prospects. Exact payment, squeeze Castro, but don't derail the future relationship between the two peoples.

[From the Baltimore Sun, Feb. 27, 1996]

CUBAN JETS VS. UNARMED CESSNAS CASTRO'S LATEST BLUNDER: CLINTON TIGHTENS EMBARGO, SHUNS MILITARY ACTION

President Clinton's substantive response to Cuba's latest outrage—the shooting down of two unarmed civilian planes whose only "bombs" were leaflets calling for freedom—

was more restrained than his rhetoric. He ordered no military action, imposed no naval blockade, kept telephone lines open and did not shut off the money sent by exiles to families in Cuba.

Yet some action was imperative. No self-respecting country can permit the blatant murder of four of its citizens to go unpunished. No self-respecting leader can permit himself to be shown without recourse.

Fidel Castro's latest crime, when combined with his recent crackdown on dissenters, erases what had been a favorable trend in U.S.-Cuban relations. It also could short-circuit some of his efforts to replace the loss of Soviet-era economic aid with increasing trade ties with Europe.

It is true enough that those involved in Saturday's incident were provocateurs in the business of pulling Fidel's beard. They were members of Brothers to the Rescue, a Miami-based organization formed to rescue boat people fleeing Cuba. But since Mr. Clinton's policy of forced repatriation stopped much of that exodus, the group has violated Cuban air space several times to drop freedom leaflets despite U.S. pleas to desist. This evidently was the intent when they flew toward Havana during their ill-fated mission.

The Cuban retaliation was far out of proportion to the provocation and in clear violation of international strictures against firing at unarmed aircraft. As a result, Mr. Clinton rightly reversed his order of last October easing travel restrictions between the U.S. and Cuba. He will stop U.S. charter flights. He will compensate the families of those killed by Cuban jet fighters out of frozen Cuban assets in the U.S. He will expand the reach of Radio Marti. And he even will work with Congress to see if some version of the Helms-Burton bill tightening the economic embargo on Cuba can be passed.

One provision in that measure permitting Cuban-Americans and others to flood federal courts with suits seeking compensation from third-country investors who have purchased properties confiscated by the Castro regime should remain veto-bait. It would serve only to increase the impatience of other nations with the U.S. obsession with Cuba. Yet some tightening of the embargo now seems a political necessity, even though the more prudent long-range course would be to create the personal and economic ties needed for the inevitable transition to a post-Castro era.

STATEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN UNION, DELEGATION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION, TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Presidency of the Council of the European Union and the European Commission present their compliments to the Department of State and wish to refer to the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996.

The European Union (EU) has consistently expressed its opposition, as a matter of law and policy, to extraterritorial applications of US jurisdiction which would also restrict EU trade in goods and services with Cuba, as already stated in various diplomatic demarches made in Washington last year, including a letter from Sir Leon Brittan to Secretary of State Warren Christopher. Although the EU is fully supportive of a peaceful transition in Cuba, it cannot accept that the US unilaterally determine and restrict EU economic and commercial relations with third countries.

The EU is consequently extremely concerned by the latest developments in the House-Senate Conference in relation to this

legislation, including the position now apparently taken by the US Administration. The legislation contains several objectionable elements. In addition, provisions relating to trafficking in confiscated property and those concerning denial of visas to executives or shareholders of companies involved in transactions concerning confiscated properties in Cuba, which had been removed during the adoption procedure by the Senate last 19 October 1995, have now been reintroduced by the House-Senate Conference. These provisions, if enacted and implemented, risk leading to legal chaos.

The EU cannot accept the prohibition for US-owned or controlled firms from financing other firms that might be involved in certain economic transactions with Cuba. The EU has stated on many occasions that such an extraterritorial extension of US jurisdiction is unacceptable as a matter of law and policy. Therefore, the EU takes the position that the United States has no basis in international law to claim the right to regulate in any way transactions taking place outside the United States with Cuba undertaken by subsidiaries of US companies incorporated outside the US.

Nor can the EU accept the immediate impact of the legislation on the trade interests of the EU by prohibiting the entry of its sugars, syrups and molasses into the US, unless the former certifies that it will not import such products from Cuba. The EU considers such requests, designed to enforce a US policy which is not applied by the EU, as illegitimate. Such measures would appear unjustifiable under GATT 1994 and would appear to violate the general principles of international law and sovereignty on independent states.

In these circumstances, the EU would appreciate it if you would inform Congress that the EU is currently examining the compatibility of this legislation with WTO rules and that the EU will react to protect all its legitimate rights.

The EU is also worried by the provisions that would lead the US to unilaterally reduce payments to international institutions, such as the IMF. This measure would run counter to collectively agreed upon obligations via-a-vis those institutions and would represent an attempt to influence improperly their internal decision-making processes.

The EU also finds most worrying the reduction of US assistance to the Russian Federation as a possible consequence of this legislation. Such a measure would not only weaken Western leverage in favour of reforms, but comes at a critical juncture in time.

Finally the EU objects, as a matter of principle, to those provisions that seek to assert extraterritorial jurisdiction of US Federal courts over disputes between the US and foreign companies regarding expropriated property located overseas. This measure would risk complicating not only third country economic relations with Cuba, but also any transitional process in Cuba itself. Furthermore, these provisions offer the possibility to US firms for legal harassment against foreign competitors that choose to do business in Cuba. The threat of denial of a US visa for corporate officers and shareholders accentuates this concern.

The EU considers that the collective effects of these provisions have the potential to cause grave damage to bilateral EU-US relations. For these reasons, the EU urges the US Administration to use its influence to seek appropriate modifications to the pro-

posed legislation, or if this should not be feasible, to prevent it from being enacted.

Should the legislation be adopted, the European Union intends to defend its legitimate interests in the appropriate international fora.

The Presidency of the Council of the European Union and the European Commission avail themselves of this opportunity to renew to the Department of State the assurances of their highest consideration.

STATEMENT BY ALFREDO DURAN, PRESIDENT OF CUBAN COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY

The recent shooting of two civilian planes which ended tragically with the loss of four lives was unquestionably an overreaction—once again—by the Government of Cuba. While President Clinton was correct in criticizing and imposing certain sanctions for the Cuban Government's disregard for international law, he should seriously ponder whether he is not now overreacting with his own endorsement of the Helms-Burton bill.

The Helms-Burton bill, with echoes of the Platt amendment, will, among other consequences, seriously affect the relations between the United States and Cuba for many years to come; violate the spirit, if not also the laws, of free trade and irritate major allies of the United States; deviate the attention of the world from Cuba's own excesses to the United States embargo, a policy which most nations have consistently criticized; and crippled the United States President's ability to act with flexibility to changes in Cuba.

Mr. Chairman, it will also further weaken the United States' leverage with the Government of Cuba in the future; slow down the mutually beneficial contacts between the people of Cuba and the United States; and exacerbate the divisions already existing between Cubans in the island and Cuban Americans.

Those of us who wish for a peaceful transition within Cuba appeal both to the Cuban Government to rethink their disregard for international norms and to the United States Government not to fall into the trap of overreacting to an overreaction.

STATEMENT OF ELOY GUTIERREZ MENOYO, PRESIDENT OF CAMBIO CUBANO/CUBAN CHANGE, TO THE U.S. CONGRESS

At a very early age, I learned about war. My brother Jose Antonio was killed fighting against fascism at age 16 in Spain. I was only five years old. My other brother, Carlos, was killed at the age of 31 in Cuba while trying to overthrow the Batista dictatorship. The tender age of the downed pilots makes me think of my dead brothers. The scars from premature death are painful to bear.

Nothing can excuse Cuba's bravado in downing the two Cessnas in which four young Cubans perished. However, this is a time for restraint and reason on both sides. US foreign policy relations must not be held hostage by extremists who seek to provoke and intensify an already tense atmosphere between both countries.

The time has come to engage Cuba in negotiations. If the US has understood, accepted, and promoted democratization in other countries, it is incomprehensible to now continue to treat Cuba with rigidity and inflexibility.

This is the moment to put into practice more creative and pragmatic policies which are truly conducive to a peaceful solution to the Cuban situation.

After twenty-two years in a Cuban prison, I was exiled abroad. Last year, I returned to

Havana and called for civil and political liberties, for my right to return and continue my political work there, including my right to establish an office of Cambio Cubano in my country.

These objectives are possible only through a national reconciliation, rather than through a failed policy of confrontation. The peace for which we yearn is not easy. Most good things are as difficult as they are rare. I urge the US Congress to defeat the Helms-Burton legislation.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOAKLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I would just like to ask the gentleman, aside from killing Fidel Castro with some kind of a paper resolution, what would the gentleman do over this latest incident?

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, I would put the strongest sanctions I could. Helms-Burton is not the answer.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, what sanctions would the gentleman impose?

Mr. MOAKLEY. Anything else, but Helms-Burton is not the answer. Let me tell the gentleman, every Member who votes for Helms-Burton, I bet within a couple of months would say, why did I do it?

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. LIVINGSTON], the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from Florida for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the rule and on the conference report on the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act. I commend Chairman SOLOMON, Chairman GILMAN, and Chairman BURTON for all their hard work on this important bill and welcome President Clinton's newfound support.

I would like to take this opportunity and offer my condolences to the families of the murdered pilots. They should know that their loved one's efforts in helping those seeking freedom was an inspiration to us all. Their dedication and bravery will not be forgotten.

This latest incident, once again, illustrates Castro's disregard for human rights and disrespect for international law. Along with repressing basic freedoms, Castro routinely and unmercifully persecutes anyone who speaks out against his barbaric practices. Now is the time to tighten the sanctions. Only by ending Castro's access to foreign capital will we bring about positive change in Cuba.

Since the cutoff of Soviet assistance in 1991, Castro has launched a desperate campaign to lure foreign investment in Cuba. This allows him to generate hard currency—the means necessary to sustain his repressive apparatus. We must not allow Castro to prop

up his failed government with foreign investment in properties—many of which were confiscated from U.S. citizens.

The conference report permits American citizens to recover damages from foreign investors who are profiting from their stolen property in Cuba. This will block the foreign investment lifeline which keeps Castro's regime alive.

The conference report also creates a right for U.S. citizens to sue parties that knowingly and intentionally traffic in confiscated property of U.S. nationals. Moreover, it denies entry into the United States of any such individual. These are logical steps which will compel international companies to make a fundamental choice: ignore U.S. property rights and engage in business as usual with Castro or maintain access to the world's largest market.

While I strongly support increased economic sanctions to force Castro from power, I also support efforts to help any new effort which enhances the self-determination of the Cuban people.

The conference report requires the President to develop a plan to provide economic assistance to both a transitional government and a duly elected Government in Cuba. These provisions send a clear signal to the Cuban people that the United States is prepared to assist in the revival of Cuba's economy and to build a mutually beneficial bilateral relationship.

Cuba is at a crossroads. This report tightens the economic noose around Castro and focuses our country's energies on bringing fundamental change in Cuba.

I urge my colleagues to support this important legislation.

□ 1230

Mr. BEILENSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Hawaii [Mr. ABERCROMBIE].

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Speaker, I find it rather strange that we are taking up this legislation today in the manner in which we are. I will attempt to answer the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] as well. I think his question is a good one: What would you do in place of this legislation?

Let me say what I think we should do. I think we should get rid of the embargo entirely, open it up. We are dealing with a nation here who shares western values. I think if we dropped the embargo entirely, Mr. BURTON is shaking his head, I wish we had more time. We could have an exchange at some later point, perhaps in special orders or something of that nature. I do not associate the people of Cuba with the government any more than the people around the world do necessarily with the government officials that we have here. I think that the way to end the dictatorship in Cuba is to open up our

trade completely. I think the regime would fall very, very quickly under that kind of circumstance.

But, because my time is limited, unfortunately, I am trying in good faith to give an answer to Mr. BURTON on that. If we go with the legislation that is before us and allow the suing to take place, who are going to bring into the suit? Will Meyer Lansky come back then and the Mafia? Is that who we want to put back in charge?

I come from an island people. We understand what colonial domination is all about. I can tell my colleagues how my interest in Cuba first started because the oligarchs in Cuba that controlled sugar and slave labor there, which competed with our free collective bargaining individuals in Hawaii that produced sugar. We understand completely what was involved in the 1950s. I do not want to hear crocodile tears at this stage about dictatorships. I understand exactly what is taking place in Cuba there.

If my colleagues want to bring the Mafia back in and they want to bring the people who supported those kinds of people back into power, that is up to them. They can do that. But do not try and sell us at this particular time that somehow our allies, then, in Mexico and Canada are going to be subject to some kind of sanction. If we want to get rid of NAFTA, it is OK with me. I voted against it. But if that is going to be the case, it seems to me that to bring the kind of pressure that at least one of the individuals speaking in favor of the legislation brought to bear today, then I think that we are going to have to abrogate the NAFTA agreement as well. I mean, this may be the vehicle for doing it. I do not know. I had not thought about it previously.

So when Senator DOLE indicates, as previous discussion related to us, that U.S. policy has consequences around the world, I would say that is true. And I think our relationship with Canada and Mexico is a case in point.

I think that if we are talking about whether or not we are in control of our own foreign policy, I think we have to take into account whether or not these provocations do occur and whether or not we are going to sanction it. If it is the policy of the United States to allow these flights to take place, then we should say so. I think we should say so up front.

We are meeting in the Committee on National Security today, and we have had a discussion already in terms of our authorization as to what our policy should be or not be with respect to Cuba. And if it is our idea to have a provocation of the Cuban Government at this time, then I think we need to say so. And if that is what we want to do, go to war with Cuba, I think we ought to talk about whether or not we are going to go to war with Beijing. Are we going to encourage the same

kind of approach from Taiwan toward the mainland of China? I think we have to be very, very careful here with respect to whether we allow the emotion of the moment to rule the legislation which comes before us in the wake of it.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I close my remarks and indicate that at some time in the future, I would be delighted to discuss what we should do. And I do not think, unfortunately, the legislation before us today allows that kind of discussion.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN], chairman of the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity [Libertad] Act of 1996 has three constructive objectives: to bring an early end to the Castro regime by cutting off capital that keeps it afloat; to start planning now for United States support to a democratic transition in Cuba; and, to protect property confiscated from United States citizens that is being exploited today by foreign companies that are profiting at the expense of the Cuban people.

This legislation charts a course for responsible normalization of United States-Cuba relations under specific conditions. And, in the meantime, it helps protect the property of U.S. citizens until they can reclaim it under a democratic government.

Mr. Speaker, "libertad" means "freedom" for the Cuban people, literally and figuratively.

By approving this Libertad Act with wide bipartisan support, Congress will demonstrate our solidarity with the Cuban people who are struggling to be free.

We are sending an unambiguous response to Castro in the wake of his murderous attack on February 24 that cost the lives of four innocent Americans. And we express our condolences to their families.

Mr. BURTON and I have worked with a strong bipartisan coalition that has reached out to the administration in crafting this conference report.

We are pleased that the administration has publicly agreed to back the Burton-Helms bill. And, I ask that President Clinton's March 5 letter to Speaker GINGRICH endorsing this measure be made part of the RECORD today.

With the tireless work of Representative ROS-LEHTINEN, Representative DIAZ-BALART, Representative MENENDEZ, and Representative TORRICELLI, we have fashioned a sound piece of legislation that advances one of our most critical foreign policy objectives in this hemisphere.

Accordingly, I urge my colleagues to support the rule and this worthy bill.

Mr. BEILENSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. SKAGGS].

Mr. SKAGGS. Mr. Speaker, this legislation comes to the floor today propelled by our collective outrage over the recent murderous attack by the Castro regime on two defenseless and clearly marked civilian aircraft. Civilized people everywhere are rightly outraged by this brutal act and by the disregard that the Castro regime has shown for human life and human rights.

It is long past time for Castro and his paranoid regime to follow Brezhnev, Honeker, Ceausescu, and all the other failed Marxist dictators into the dustbin of history. There can be no disagreement about that.

But does it follow that there should be no disagreement about this bill? Emphatically, it does not. In fact, this legislation is a product of outdated dogma about how to fight Communist dictators, just as much as Castro is an outdated Communist dictator.

A vote for this bill is a vote to ratchet up the already tight Cuban embargo. That may be popular as a way to register our moral outrage at Castro's latest actions. Some may even believe it will help push his regime over the edge.

To the contrary, passing this bill is exactly the wrong thing to do right now.

What is our self-interest here? What should be our objective? It should be the peaceful transition to a Cuba with an open economic system and a democratic political system.

What is the best way to get there? I think our recent experience is instructive, our experience with the Soviet Union, with Eastern Europe, with China and Vietnam.

That experience is one of modest success achieved through a policy of tough-minded engagement: Engagement economically with trade and investment, showing the virtues of our economic system on the ground, in person, in their face. Engagement ideologically, promoting the free exchange of information and people with unimpeded travel. And, engagement culturally, through cultural exchange and humanitarian involvement. That's the policy that ultimately contributed to the undoing of the repressive regimes of the old Soviet empire and to economic reforms—admittedly incomplete—underway in China and Vietnam.

In contrast, this bill is just another iteration of an outmoded ideology: mindless isolation, the same failed approach that has been applied to Cuba for more than 30 years.

What are we afraid of here? A small island nation with no strategic allies and a failed economic and political system?

This Congress chose a policy of engagement with China even though China poses much a greater risk to us than Cuba. We did this precisely because we know that political, economic,

and cultural engagement holds out the best hope of avoiding those very risks, whether economic or military.

This bill takes United States policy in Cuba in the wrong direction. It is absolutely contrary to the long-term interests of the United States. It will increase the prospect of a violent convulsion in Cuba that would be a real security and immigration crisis for the United States.

I do not agree with the President that this isolationist bill is an acceptable measure, even in response to such an offensive provocation by the Cuban Government as occurred last week. Tightening the embargo will only play into Castro's hands, helping him to keep his people in a state of repression and deprivation.

As in the case of our other former, and hold-over adversaries from the cold war era, the best policy for the United States to follow for its own self-interest, and to encourage reform of China's political and economic system, is a policy of tough-minded engagement.

Let us learn from recent history, Mr. Speaker. Let us have the courage to say "no" to narrow ideology, to say "no" to special-interest group domination of United States policy toward Cuba, and "no" to this bill.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Goss], my distinguished colleague on the Committee on Rules.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I thank my distinguished colleague from Florida for yielding time to me, and I rise today in strong support of this rule and the conference report on the Helms-Burton Libertad bill.

Today, at long last, we discuss this bipartisan legislation knowing that the President has agreed to sign it when it reaches his desk—unlike too many other important measures that have run into his veto pen. Today's vote culminates a long effort to educate the administration about the true nature of the Castro dictatorship. I must point out with some wonderment that it took the brutal tragic death of innocent American citizens to finally convince the Clinton administration that Fidel Castro really does not operate by rules of civilized conduct and he is never to be trusted. The Clinton administration, it seems, had to find this out the hard way—having toyed with a misguided policy of appeasement right up until those humanitarian relief planes were shot out of the sky. It is my hope that those who oppose this bill will soon come to the same realization that President Clinton has: That our only policy option is to clamp down on Fidel Castro once and for all. He is the problem.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation will put U.S. policy with Castro back on track—back to being tough with concrete action designed to restore democ-

racy and encourage Castro's departure from power. We know from what happened in Haiti under the Clinton administration's policy of misery that properly run and fully supported embargoes can have serious impact. In Haiti, the Clinton administration's policy did damage that Haiti will be trying to recover from—and United States taxpayers will probably be paying for—for decades. But the Haiti experience should have taught us that, once and embargo is made the policy of choice, it has to be enforced with a clear focus on the enemy target and a firm commitment to seeing it through to its desired end. We ask our allies help. This legislation is designed to achieve that goal. I urge my colleagues to support the Libertad conference report and I look forward to the day when the United States can once again embrace a free and democratic Cuba.

□ 1245

Mr. BEILENSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. RANGEL].

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate this opportunity to address the House, and I guess, since this is an emotional issue votes will not be changed, but I am in opposition to this rule, and most of what I am saying I hope I am saying for the RECORD as opposed to being against the deep feelings of my friends and colleagues that are in support of the rule as well as the bill.

A couple of weeks ago the President of the United States reviewed this bill, and he had indicated that he had serious reservations about this bill interfering with our foreign policy, our trade policy, about it abusing our court system, in that he said in its present form he would veto it. A couple of weeks ago the Helms-Burton bill was, I think politically speaking, put on the back burner in this body. A couple of weeks ago all the Republican candidates were dealing with the issues that they thought were important, but democracy in Cuba never got on anybody's agenda. What happened between that time and this political legislative rush to do this as fast as we can for democracy? What happened?

Four dedicated Americans, loving democracy enough to risk their lives, continued on a mission that went beyond just searching for those who may be lost in the ocean trying to reach the United States, few as they may be in recent days. They were determined to make certain that the issue of the overthrow of Castro and the restoration of democracy in Cuba would not be forgotten. I do not care what my colleagues' beliefs are; if they believe that was sincere and they did these things, we have to pray for their souls and their families and not ignore the courage that they had in doing these

things, not once, but many times, in order to focus attention on the injustices, that were being committed in Cuba.

Did they believe that they would be shot down as civilian planes with no weapons? I would hope that no one would believe that in this world that we have people who would say, "Because you have provoked us, because you have made us angry, that we are prepared to blow up your planes and to murder you," and so the United States leads the world in terms of outrage in saying whether those planes were over Cuba, within 12 miles, outside of 12 miles, we just do not do this to people.

If one wakes up in the middle of the night and they think there is a burglar that intruded in their house, and they pick up a gun, and they go, and then they see it is a child that is fleeing without an arm, they may have the legal right, they may have the emotional feeling, but they do not shoot down a defenseless child no matter how much that child provoked them. No matter how we measure the patriotism, the dedication, of these pilots, nobody can make the accusation that they were a threat to the security of the people in Cuba.

So we all have to do the best we can to show not just Castro but anyone that thinks this way it is an outrageous thing to do, but how do we respond as a civilized nation? Do we run there, and grab Castro, and shake him, and say never again? No, our response is that we are going to enact this bill. We are going to show him how tough we are.

And what do we do in this bill? We say that we are going to not only tighten the trade embargo against Cuba, but we are going to take it out of the hands of the President. Who can trust the President? We have got to make it statutory. We have got to say when it comes to embargoes in foreign countries we know best, not Presidents know what is best. And what else are we going to do? We are going to say that our embargo was so effective that once we tightened the screws on our so-called friends, they will capitulate to this United States pressure and join in with us, as they did in South Africa and Haiti, and say this is the moral and the right thing to do and then collapse goes Castro.

Give me a break. This bill has nothing to do with Castro. It has everything to do with our friends and our voters in Florida.

Do my colleagues think for 1 minute that the Organization of American States is going to say I was outraged, too; please let me break every agreement that I have with Cuba? Do my colleagues think that the World Trade Organization is going to say since we have a murderer as a dictator, all the investments we have in Cuba, we got to tell them to forget it. Do my col-

leagues think the United Nations is going to do anything except condemn the United States in trying to perpetuate our domestic and, indeed, to stretch the word, our foreign policy, to include them? No. The truth of the matter is that we do not care what they believe. We are doing this because we feel good about doing it, and do my colleagues know why we are doing it? Because we got the votes to do it. And do my colleagues know why the President is doing it? Because he wants the votes to continue to be President.

I tell my colleagues this: The people who want democracy in Cuba, do not change those ways, do what feels good, but let some of us who want democracy and freedom at least try some different way to do it. I just do not believe that they are doing anything except saying to the poor people in Cuba who are homeless, who are jobless, who are suffering, who are in misery, who need food, who need medicine; do my colleagues think for 1 minute that they are marching up and down the streets of Havana saying, "My God, Castro, you made it worse for us, now the whole world is condemning us"? No, Castro is saying their misery and their pain is due to Americans who singularly have an embargo against them. Is he blaming himself for the failures that he has had in the socialistic communist government? No.

So who is supposed to be responsible for everything that is going bad? The embargo. And what do we say? Forget what you see, what you hear, it is working, man; it is working, man. And it is working so well, all we have to do is tighten this, and then all of the Cubans will be in such misery and pain and hunger.

Do my colleagues know what they are going to do? No. What will they do? They are going to organize and revolt. Oh, my God. Meaning they are going to overthrow the government? Oh, yes, hungry and sick and tired, without rifles, they are going to this fat, overtrained, overfed army and say, "Oh, thank God, the Americans have made life miserable for me, we are getting rid of you."

I tell my colleagues one thing: If we do reach these people, we will get rid of them, and they will be on the rafts, and they will be on the boats, and they will be in Miami, but they will not be fighting that Communist Cuban Army in Havana. My colleagues can believe that.

But I say this: As we bleed for the families of those heroic pilots, I see something new happening here, too. We are, indeed, encouraging other people that, if they do not like our foreign policy, they just get themselves an airplane, buddy. Just put in for a flight plan. Just go where they want to go. And when they say the jets are coming, then say, hey, forget it, I am dedicated.

Let us see what is happening in Ireland. As my colleagues know, let us

put out some pamphlets there. Let us go to the Middle East and see whether or not they are really prepared to really move the peace process. Let us check out Korea, North and South, and Vietnam, and let us legislate it, do not let the President with his flip-flop self determine 1 day what is good and what is bad. The Congress knows, and who knows better than the Republican majority here about everything?

So this is not a contract for America. This is a contract for the world. If you are for democracy, squeeze the people that are hungry, stop the food and medicine from going, tell American businessmen not in Cuba will you invest, and at the same time support trade in NAFTA, support it in GATT, support it all over the world, but do not support it in Cuba.

I suggest to my colleagues I have the same outrage for murderers that they do, but I hope this country does not embark on having this in concrete and firmed up as what we do as a nation and as a Congress when we are outraged.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from Florida [Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN], my distinguished friend and colleague.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me, as well as for his strong leadership role in the passing of this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the rule for H.R. 927. This legislation is designed to hasten the demise of the Castro dictatorship, the last undemocratic regime in our hemisphere, which for over three decades has subjected the Cuban people to untold repression and misery.

Over the past month, we have observed the voices of those calling for a softer policy with Castro fall strangely silent as the dictatorship increases its repression against the people of the island. Not only has the regime increased its harassment and intimidation against the growing independent movements in journalism and in other dissident sectors inside Cuba, but the regime's brutal shoot down last week of two civilian unarmed aircraft with U.S. citizens aboard showed us that after three decades the Castro tyranny remains as bloody and ruthless as it ever has been.

The Helms-Burton bill will penalize those who have become Castro's new patron saviors-foreign investors who callously traffick in American confiscated properties in Cuba to profit from the misery of the Cuban worker. These investors care little that they are dealing with a tyrant who promotes terrorism, drug trafficking, and denies the most basic of human liberties to the people of Cuba.

This legislation takes a strong stance against those immoral investors by denying them participation in our United

States markets, if they decide to invest in Cuba and prop up the dictator in this way.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to join us today in supporting this legislation, thus helping Cubans in their struggle for freedom. This bill will hurt Castro, it will help the Cuban people, and it will send a strong message to those immoral foreign investors. Stop helping the dictator by trafficking in confiscated United States property.

The Helms-Burton bill goes to the heart of the means by which the Cuban tyrant is now financing his repression of the Cuban people; namely, immoral foreign investment. After the millions of dollars in Soviet subsidies to Castro ended, the Cuban dictator and his Communist thugs have tried to obtain the hard currency necessary to keep themselves in power. Foreigners are allowed to invest in Cuba, and many do, in properties which are illegally stolen from American citizens.

In this new slave-like economy, designed by the Castro regime, the Cuban people are not able to participate. Instead they are pawns of the regime and of the foreign investors who are attracted to invest in Cuba because of the low wages and the repression against the Cuban worker. The foreign investors pay Castro in dollars. Castro pays the Cuban worker in devalued Cuban pesos at a small percentage of what was given to the communist dictator.

Mr. Speaker, it is for those four murdered pilots, Armando Alejandre, Mario de la Pena, Pablo Morales, and Carlos Costa, as well as for the thousands and thousands of unknown Cubans who have given their lives to bring liberty to their island that we will pass this legislation today.

□ 1300

Mr. Speaker, it is not only the correct policy to follow, but a moral imperative to assure that the ultimate sacrifice paid by these thousands of freedom fighters will not be in vain.

At times it seems unreal and implausible that only 90 miles from the shores of this great democracy lies an enslaved nation ruled by a ruthless Communist dictatorship, a nation whose citizens are denied the most basic human, civil, and political rights. In my native homeland of Cuba, no one but the dictator has any rights at all, an island which once had the highest standard of living in Latin America but where its citizens today struggle day to day for the bare necessities needed to survive.

Mr. Speaker, it might seem unreal that such a state could exist a few miles from our shores, but of course, unfortunately, it does. The thousands of Cuban rafters who have risked their lives in the Florida Straits to escape the Castro dictatorship are a vivid reminder of this sad reality. The thou-

sands of dissidents who have been harassed, imprisoned, and indeed killed are testament to the lack of respect for human rights by the Castro regime.

Most recently, the premeditated cold-blooded murder over international waters of four pilots in a humanitarian mission, three of them American citizens, one a Vietnam veteran who served two tours of duty, has awakened the world that in Cuba, the rule of death and fear prevailed over the rule of democratic law and order.

Mr. Speaker, the legislation we are now considering will go a long way toward helping the Cuban people reestablish the rule of democracy and law for which they have battled for 37 years to achieve. I thank the gentleman once again for his strong leadership role in making this legislation possible as well as many of our colleagues on the Democratic side of the aisle.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. CHABOT], a distinguished new Member of the House.

Mr. CHABOT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the conference report and the rule, and I commend the leadership shown by the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN], the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON], the gentleman from Florida [Mr. DIAZ-BALART], the gentleman from Florida [Ms. ROSELEHTINEN], and the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. MENENDEZ].

I also want to applaud President Clinton for finally having voiced support for the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act. It is unfortunate that it took the cold-blooded murder of unarmed American citizens to awaken the President to the harsh reality of the morally reprehensible Castro regime.

Fidel Castro is a thug, an international outlaw. His 37-year reign has been noteworthy for its brutality and its unrelenting resistance to individual liberty and freedom. The misery that has been suffered by the Cuban people at the hands of Fidel Castro is one of the world's great tragedies. This legislation will tighten the existing United States embargo against Cuba, and it protects the rights of United States citizens and businesses whose property has been confiscated unlawfully by the Castro regime. It is a good bill and it is long overdue. I urge passage.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to my good friend, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. MENENDEZ].

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Florida for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy that I got some time from the Republican side, since I have been told today we cannot get any time from the Democratic side to speak in favor of the bill, despite the

fact that a third of the Democratic Caucus voted for this bill last fall.

Mr. Speaker, I rise not to apologize for Fidel Castro, not to coddle him, not to rationalize or justify whatever he has done. The fact of the matter is that I am really offended when I hear my colleagues refer to this issue as "This is about voters in Florida." To say that is to say that seeking peace in Ireland or giving a visa to Gerry Adams is about Irish voters, or that our collective outrage against the barbaric acts that have taken place in Israel is about Jewish voters, or, for that matter, to say that our movements to end apartheid in South Africa, to bring democracy to Haiti, and our efforts to give relief in Somalia were about African-American voters. It is an insult to this community.

This is about democracy. It is about promoting human rights. It is not about votes of some group in some State or States. That is why we had a strong bipartisan vote. That is why yesterday in the Senate, 74 Senators joined in favor of creating democracy in Cuba. That is why 294 Members of this House last fall voted for it, with a third of the Democratic Caucus joining an overwhelming number of the Republican Party because they understand the realities.

Mr. Speaker, let me say that in fact when we hear about creating peaceful change, we are all for peaceful change. That is our goal. But what has Castro's response been to peaceful efforts within Cuba, like those of the Concilio Cubano, a group of 120 organizations who promote peaceful democratic change in Cuba? Our Members go there and visit Cuba. They have a cigar with Fidel. They enjoy some time there. And as soon as they leave, these people get arrested.

What happened in the week preceding the killing of the four American citizens? What happened? These people who seek peaceful democratic change by Cubans in Cuba, not about some bygone era that people like to allude to, the response to their request which they made to the regime for a national meeting, what we enjoy here in the United States, to simply sit down and say, "How do we move towards democratic change within Cuba," what was the response? One hundred of them were arrested and imprisoned. Dozens of others are under house arrest. Women were strip-searched so they would be intimidated from participating in the organization. That is the answer to peaceful democratic change in Cuba.

For those who believe in some romanticism, that when the people go and say, Please, we want to move towards democracy, Fidel is going to act the right way, they have seen it. For those who keep saying that this is after the cold war, I agree, it is after the cold war, but nobody told Mr. Castro.

The fact of the matter is he has shown us what he is willing to do with the third largest military in the entire Western Hemisphere. He represses his people who ask for peaceful democratic change, and we are silent for the most part. Those who say they are for democracy in Cuba, peaceful democratic change, why are they not speaking out on behalf of the Concilio Cubano?

What is the response to four U.S. citizens flying in international airspace, unquestioned by our Government through all of their intelligence that they were in international airspace? This is the response, Mr. Speaker. Let me read the transcript that Madeleine Albright presented to the United Nations: "Cuban fighters, a small white and blue Cessna that they were tracking, and their excitement was clearly palpable * * * 'The target is in sight, the target is in sight,' the small aircraft, the MiG pilot radioed back to his ground controller. 'It is flying at a low altitude. Give me instructions,' said the pilot. The answer was 'Fire. Authorized to destroy,'" not to warn, not to try to seek under international law to move them, but, even though they were not in Cuban airspace, no, to destroy.

Thirty-three seconds later, the response from the MiG 29 pilot was "We took out his * * *" and I will not add the expletive. "That one won't mess around with us anymore." Two and one-half minutes later another pilot sighting the second Cessna said, "Give me the authority." He was responded, "You are authorized to destroy it," and it was destroyed. "Fatherland or death, the other is down also." These are the transcripts that our U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations presented to the world.

Mr. Speaker, the fact of the matter is this bill is bipartisan. It has the support of the President. President Clinton sent a letter to the Speaker of this House saying that he supports the bill, and urges all Members to vote on behalf of it.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Just in the last century, Mr. Speaker, after the Cuban people were fighting almost 100 years for their freedom from Spanish colonialism, it was the United States that stood by their side and helped them achieve freedom and independence. History has a way of repeating itself. Now it is the American people through their Government, and today speaking through their Congress and the President, standing with the Cuban people against the worst oppressor in the history of this hemisphere.

So we think of the hundreds of political prisoners now imprisoned, the thousands who have been killed, including the American citizens just a few days ago. We dedicate this legislation to them. It is going to be a great sign of

solidarity with the Cuban people. I would ask my colleagues to support the rule and support the conference report.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the previous question is ordered, on the resolution.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 347, nays 67, not voting 17, as follows:

[Roll No. 46]

YEAS—347

Ackerman	Condit	Goodlatte
Allard	Cooley	Goodling
Andrews	Costello	Gordon
Armey	Cox	Goss
Bachus	Coynne	Graham
Baersler	Cramer	Green
Baker (CA)	Crapo	Greenwood
Baker (LA)	Creameans	Gunderson
Baldacci	Cubin	Gutierrez
Ballenger	Cunningham	Gutknecht
Barcia	Danner	Hall (TX)
Barr	Davis	Hamilton
Barrett (NE)	de la Garza	Hancock
Barrett (WI)	Deal	Hansen
Bartlett	DeLay	Hastert
Barton	Deutsch	Hastings (FL)
Bass	Diaz-Balart	Hastings (WA)
Bateman	Dickey	Hayworth
Beilenson	Dicks	Hefley
Bentsen	Dingell	Hefner
Bereuter	Dixon	Heineman
Bevill	Doggett	Herger
Bilbray	Dooley	Hilleary
Bilirakis	Doolittle	Hobson
Bishop	Dornan	Hoekstra
Billiey	Doyle	Hoke
Blute	Dreier	Holden
Boehlert	Duncan	Horn
Boehner	Dunn	Hostettler
Bonilla	Edwards	Houghton
Bono	Ehlers	Hoyer
Borski	Ehrlich	Hutchinson
Brewster	Emerson	Hyde
Browder	Engel	Inglis
Brown (CA)	English	Istook
Brown (FL)	Ensign	Jackson-Lee
Brown (OH)	Eshoo	(TX)
Brownback	Everett	Jacobs
Bryant (TN)	Ewing	Jefferson
Bunn	Farr	Johnson (CT)
Bunning	Fawell	Johnson (SD)
Burr	Fazio	Johnson, E. B.
Burton	Fields (LA)	Johnson, Sam
Buyer	Fields (TX)	Jones
Callahan	Filner	Kanjorski
Calvert	Flanagan	Kaptur
Camp	Foley	Kasich
Campbell	Forbes	Kelly
Canady	Ford	Kennedy (MA)
Cardin	Fowler	Kennedy (RI)
Castle	Fox	Kennelly
Chabot	Franks (CT)	Kildee
Chambliss	Franks (NJ)	Kim
Chenoweth	Frisa	King
Chrysler	Frost	Kingston
Clayton	Funderburk	Klecza
Clement	Galleghy	Klink
Clinger	Ganske	Klug
Clyburn	Gekas	Knollenberg
Coble	Gephardt	Kolbe
Coburn	Geren	LaHood
Coleman	Gilchrest	Lantos
Collins (GA)	Gillmor	Largent
Combest	Gilman	Latham

LaTourette	Ortiz	Slaughter
Laughlin	Orton	Smith (MI)
Lazio	Oxley	Smith (NJ)
Leach	Packard	Smith (TX)
Levin	Pallone	Smith (WA)
Lewis (CA)	Parker	Solomon
Lewis (KY)	Pastor	Souder
Lightfoot	Paxon	Spratt
Linder	Payne (VA)	Stearns
Lipinski	Peterson (FL)	Stenholm
Livingston	Peterson (MN)	Stockman
LoBlundo	Petri	Stump
Longley	Pickett	Stupak
Lucas	Pombo	Talent
Luther	Pomeroy	Tanner
Manton	Porter	Tate
Manzullo	Portman	Tauzin
Martinez	Poshard	Taylor (MS)
Martini	Pryce	Taylor (NC)
Mascara	Quinn	Tejeda
Matsui	Radanovich	Thomas
McCollum	Rahall	Thompson
McCrery	Ramstad	Thornberry
McDade	Reed	Thornberry
McHugh	Regula	Thurman
McInnis	Richardson	Tiahrt
McIntosh	Riggs	Torkildsen
McKeon	Rivers	Torricelli
McNulty	Roberts	Traficant
Meehan	Roemer	Upton
Meek	Rogers	Volkmer
Menendez	Rohrabacher	Vucanovich
Metcalfe	Ros-Lehtinen	Walker
Meyers	Rose	Walsh
Mica	Roth	Wamp
Miller (FL)	Roukema	Ward
Minge	Royce	Watts (OK)
Moakley	Salmon	Weldon (FL)
Molinar	Sanford	Weldon (PA)
Mollohan	Sawyer	Weller
Montgomery	Saxton	White
Moorhead	Scarborough	Whitfield
Morella	Schaefer	Wicker
Murtha	Schiff	Williams
Myers	Seastrand	Wilson
Myrick	Sensenbrenner	Wise
Neal	Shadegg	Wolf
Nethercutt	Shaw	Wynn
Neumann	Shays	Young (AK)
Ney	Shuster	Young (FL)
Norwood	Skeen	Zeliff
Nussle	Skelton	Zimmer

NAYS—67

Abercrombie	Hinchey	Roybal-Allard
Becerra	Jackson (IL)	Rush
Berman	Johnston	Sabo
Bonior	Lewis (GA)	Sanders
Boucher	Lincoln	Schroeder
Clay	Lofgren	Schumer
Collins (IL)	Lowe	Scott
Conyers	Maloney	Serrano
DeFazio	Markey	Skaggs
DeLauro	McDermott	Stark
Dellums	McHale	Studds
Evans	McKinney	Torres
Fattah	Miller (CA)	Towns
Flake	Mink	Velazquez
Foglietta	Moran	Vento
Frank (MA)	Nadler	Visclosky
Furse	Oberstar	Waters
Gejdenson	Obey	Watt (NC)
Gibbons	Oliver	Waxman
Gonzalez	Owens	Woolsey
Hall (OH)	Payne (NJ)	Yates
Harman	Pelosi	
Hilliard	Rangel	

NOT VOTING—17

Archer	Durbin	Quillen
Bryant (TX)	Frelinghuysen	Siskis
Chapman	Hayes	Spence
Christensen	Hunter	Stokes
Collins (MI)	LaFalce	Waldholtz
Crane	McCarthy	

□ 1334

The Clerk announced the following pair:

On this vote:

Ms. McCarthy for, with Mrs. Collins of Illinois against.

Mr. FLAKE, Mr. SCHUMER, and Mrs. MALONEY changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mrs. CLAYTON, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. CLYBURN, and Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana changed their vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. LAFALCE. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, March 6, I was unavoidably absent for rollcalls 45 and 46. Had I been present, I would have voted "aye" and "no" respectively.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 370, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 927) to seek international sanctions against the Castro government in Cuba, to plan for support of a transition government leading to a democratically elected government in Cuba, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. EWING). Pursuant to House Resolution 370, the conference report is considered as having been read.

(For conference report and statement, see proceedings of the House of Monday, March 4, 1996, page 3546.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] will be recognized for 30 minutes, and the gentleman from Indiana, [Mr. HAMILTON] will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN].

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GILMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with the position of the gentleman from New York in relation to this measure.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly support this measure, and I compliment the committee and the sponsors on bringing it to this Chamber for a vote.

We all know what Castro has brought to the land of Cuba. This measure send a firm message that we, in this body, stand for freedom and democracy in Cuba. There are so many violations of human rights and rules of decency inflicted on the Cuban people by Castro. Further, we abhor the tragedy he caused regarding the American airplanes just a few days ago.

Let us Americans stand together, let us vote for this bill and send an unequivocal message that we stand for democracy and freedom for the Cuban people.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting the conference report Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity [LIBERTAD] Act of 1996.

This legislation advocates a responsible course to encourage and support genuine, fundamental reforms in Cuba.

And, in the interim, it helps protect the property of U.S. citizens until they can reclaim it under a democratic government.

Mr. BURTON has worked with a strong bipartisan coalition. With the help of Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, Mr. DIAZ-BALART, Mr. MENENDEZ, and Mr. TORRICELLI, he has fashioned a sound piece of legislation.

Recently, President Clinton expressed his full support for this bill, which he has described as "a strong, bipartisan response that tightens the economic embargo against the Cuban regime and permits us to continue to promote democratic change in Cuba."

Mr. Speaker, allow me to address several of the concerns raised by the few remaining critics of this legislation.

First, the only companies that will run afoul of this new law are those that are knowingly and intentionally trafficking in the stolen property of U.S. citizens.

International law and comity were not conceived to protect the corporate scavengers who are profiting at the expense of the Cuban people, pilfering the purloined assets of American citizens, and propping up a bandit regime.

To the extent that this act holds us all to higher standards and defends universally recognized property rights, international law and the rules of the corporate game are improved for the better.

Second, this act does much more than stiffen sanctions. It outlines a reasonable course for normalizing relations with a democratic Cuba. And, it offers the Cuban people an early helping hand in making a peaceful transition.

When inevitable change comes to, I am convinced that no country in the world will do more than ours to help the Cuban people—and they will know that we never sold them out.

Third, this legislation authorizes immediate United States support for Cuban prodemocracy groups and for the immediate deployment of international human rights observers and election-monitors in Cuba.

We simply ask our neighbors in this hemisphere to hold Fidel Castro to the same standards that they hold themselves.

My friends, the day unfettered human rights monitors are allowed to inspect Castro's prisons will be one of Castro's last.

Let us not pass up this historic opportunity to bring about a peaceful change in Cuba. I urge my colleagues to support this conference report on H.R. 927.

Mr. Speaker, I am including at this point in the RECORD the March 5, 1996, letter from President Clinton and the March 5, 1996, letter from the distin-

guished chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARCHER], regarding this conference report.

THE WHITE HOUSE,

Washington, DC, March 5, 1996.

Hon. NEWT GINGRICH,
Speaker of the House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: The Cuban regime's decision on February 24 to shoot down two U.S. civilian planes, causing the deaths of three American citizens and one U.S. resident, demanded a firm, immediate response.

Beginning on Sunday, February 25, I ordered a series of steps. As a result of U.S. efforts, the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted a Presidential Statement strongly deploring Cuba's actions. We will seek further condemnation by the international community in the days and weeks ahead. In addition, the United States is taking a number of unilateral measures to obtain justice from the Cuban government, as well as its agreement to abide by international law in the future.

As part of these measures, I asked my Administration to work vigorously with the Congress to set aside our remaining differences and reach rapid agreement on the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act. Last week, we achieved that objective. The conference report is a strong, bipartisan response that tightens the economic embargo against the Cuban regime and permits us to continue to promote democratic change in Cuba.

I urge the Congress to pass the LIBERTAD bill in order to send Cuba a powerful message that the United States will not tolerate further loss of American life.

Sincerely,

BILL CLINTON.

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS,
Washington, DC, March 5, 1996.

Hon. NEWT GINGRICH,
The Speaker, The Capitol, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I am writing to you regarding Section 102 of the Conference Report on H.R. 927, the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act of 1996, in which the Committee on Ways and Means has a jurisdictional interest.

Specifically, Section 102 codifies existing Executive Orders and regulations on the Cuban embargo. This provision falls within this Committee's jurisdiction over trade laws affecting imports and revenues. This provision was not included in the version of H.R. 927 that was passed by the House on September 21, 1995, but rather was added in conference.

In order to expedite the consideration of the conference report, I will not object to the inclusion of Section 102. However, this is being done with the understanding that the Committee will be treated without prejudice as to its jurisdictional prerogatives on such or similar provisions in the future, and it should not be considered as precedent for consideration of matters of jurisdictional interest to the Committee on Ways and Means in the future.

Thank you for your consideration of this matter. With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

BILL ARCHER,
Chairman.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from

Indiana [Mr. BURTON], our able chairman of the Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere, and the principal House sponsor of this measure, and that he be permitted to manage the balance of the debate on this side.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. CAMPBELL].

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Speaker, we must have an effective policy to respond to what Fidel Castro did to four American citizens—killing them in international airspace—in contravention of international law. That is the first and most important point I have to share with my colleagues today.

In order to have an effective policy, we must have the support of our allies, and my objection to this bill is because I am convinced it will alienate, instead of bring together, our allies. It will divide, instead of uniting them, and the reason it will do that is because this bill—in a manner unprecedented in American law—extends the extraterritorial reach of the United States' jurisdiction.

As we go around the world, and I trust that all of my colleagues would agree with this, there are very few countries where people say, "You know we admire the American civil justice system. We would like to have class actions, plaintiffs' attorneys' fees, we would like to have all of that system in place for our country." And the reason is that we have a rather extensive and what most foreign countries consider onerous rules in our civil justice system.

What this bill does is to extend for the first time the right for a private citizen, not the Government of the United States, but a private citizen to bring the full crushing weight of the American civil justice system, with discovery, with delays, with attorneys' fees to bear upon a private party of another country.

Now, normally, other country's citizens and corporations follow the rule of international law, which is very important for international commerce. And if you know the law of your own country and you know the law of the country where the investment is located, you are all right. You will abide by your own country's law. You will abide by the law of the country where your investment is.

But in this bill today, a person who in good faith accepted title to property under the laws of the nation where that property was located will have to check not only the laws of that country, his or her own laws, but the laws of the United States as well. And I note

particularly to my colleagues on the majority that we do today what we generally abhor: We create a statutory right for a new legal action, and we give attorneys' fees only to the prevailing plaintiff. We do not give attorneys' fees to the other side. And many of us, I am sure, have spoken about the burden of one-sided fee shifting, the ability to haul somebody into court, put them to a huge expense, and then say, "If I am wrong, I am sorry. You are still stuck with your legal fees." That is in this bill, one-sided plaintiff-only litigation, attorneys' fees.

□ 1345

Now, the problem is that this comes at a time when we need Canada, we need Australia, we need Western Europe. The only time sanctions have worked, economic effective sanctions have worked, is when we are joined by our allies. For over 30 years we have attempted to isolate Cuba, and our efforts at economic sanctions have failed because they have been only ours and not engaged our allies. In title III of this bill, what we do is guarantee we will not have the support of our allies in any action that we intend to bring pressure upon the Castro regime.

What is most critical here is to unite and to present to the Cuban Government, the Castro regime, a Europe, North America, a Latin America, and an Asia that say that we will no longer trade in your goods. Instead, what we have is a direct affront to rules of international law on jurisdiction.

I repeat, there is no precedent for extending American law to investments made in another country pursuant to laws of that country. Indeed, in 1964, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled in *Banco Nacional de Cuba versus Sabbatino* that American courts could not inquire into the legality of the expropriation acts of the Cuban Government when done in Cuba.

Lastly, what we embark upon today has the most serious ramifications for our hope to infuse investment in Eastern Europe. Think about it for a moment. If today's law becomes law, if title III stays in this law, then anyone who invests in Poland, the Czech Republic, or Slovakia, regimes that were formerly Communist, will have to worry that at some point the United States will call into question those investments, because under the exact same pattern as this law, we extend extraterritorially a right of action against someone who traffics or profits in property located in another regime, even if it was legal at the time.

I conclude with a plea: We must unite in opposition all countries that respect civilized behavior. What happened over the Strait of Florida was not civilized behavior. This bill divides. It does not unite. I urge a no on this bill.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman

from Florida, Mr. LINCOLN DIAZ-BALART, my distinguished colleague and great helper and supporter of this bill.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, it is really a shame my erudite and learned legal scholar colleague, the gentleman from California [Mr. CAMPBELL], is so incorrect in his interpretation of this legislation. First of all, and I heard him before the Committee on Rules yesterday where he pointed out that there was unfair treatment of some of the parties, I want to point out that on page 35 in title III, the provisions of title 28 of the United States Code and the Rules of Courts, they apply under this section to the same extent as those provisions with regard to any other action.

The point I am trying to make is this is not an extraterritorial law, and when we say we will protect the property of American citizens that was stolen by a dictatorship, we are protecting the rights of American citizens' property, and not the rights of other citizens from other countries. So this is not an extraterritorial piece of legislation.

Now, the essence of what we are trying to do is to shatter the arguments of the opponents of this legislation, that despite the fact that they supported embargoes against South Africa and Haiti, they now say that we should have a policy of helping the regime through trade and through investment in Cuba. It is a double standard that has been rejected by this Congress before and that is going to be rejected again. It has been rejected by the administration as well.

The statement that is going to go out today, a bipartisan statement, is that with regard to Cuba, just as in the 19th century, the American people are standing with the Cuban people against oppression, and are not going to stand with the oppressors of the Cuban people. Those people will be free. They will remember who their friends were, and they will remember who stood ignoring them and using double standards in this Congress, like our opponents time and time again, despite even murders of American citizens in international waters continue.

I think it is shameful that people, even after the murder of American citizens, still find excuses for Castro, still find pretenses for Castro, and get up here and find excuse after excuse after excuse.

There is no more excuse for murder, that is no more excuse for that tyranny. It is time that the American people show their unity, as they are going to today in this Congress.

Mr. MORAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 2 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, from a political standpoint, this makes compelling sense, but from a substantive foreign policy standpoint, it is nonsense.

Mr. Speaker, this is not the way we won the cold war. This is not the way we tore down the Iron Curtain. We are going to be punishing the Cuban people, when what we really want to do is punish an antiquated despot.

But there are worse things about this that need to be brought to light. In the Baltimore Sun last May, it was reported that this bill was largely written by Nick Gutierrez, who represents the sugar mill owners and the tobacco industry, and Mr. Ignacio Sanchez, who represents the Barcardi Rum Co. Their competitors operate in Cuba, specifically the British American Tobacco Co. [BAT] and Perrot Ricard rum distillery.

What is going to happen here is we are not going to shut down these industries. What is going to happen is these Cuban-American lawyers are going to make settlements out of court so they can get equity participation in these competitor firms.

Now, in the first place, the bill limits legal recourse in American courts to people who had property in Cuba during the Batista dictatorship that was valued over \$50,000 in 1960. There were not many Cubans who had property worth more than \$50,000 back in 1960 before the revolution. You had to be a member of the Batista regime and in good standing to do so. But what this does is to enable people who owned large property to be able to settle out of court to get a large share, or at least a significant share, of the profits of these rum companies and tobacco firms currently operating in Cuba. They know they are not going to shut down these plants. They don't necessarily want to shut them down. They want to own them. They know it is cheaper for these Cuban operations to make an out-of-court settlement to comply with this new bill. In fact this bill specifically states that "a lawsuit may be brought and settled without the necessity of obtaining any license or permission from any agency of the United States."

That is what this is all about. What we are going to be doing is propping up many of the people who created the environment which caused Castro to be able to bring forth the revolution and has enabled him to sustain that revolution.

That is not what we want. We want to enact legislation that will help the real people of Cuba, the butchers and the bakers and the candlestick makers and all the laborers and farmers. The people who were brutally exploited by the Batista regime. Those are the people we ought to help, and those people are excluded from this legislation.

This legislation prevents the United States President from effectively helping in a transition to democracy and shuts out America's values and its people from exposure to the Cuban people and their thirst for the same principles and values.

This is not good foreign policy. It ought to be defeated on its merits.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 15 seconds.

Mr. Speaker, just to respond to my colleague, I would say that the opponents of this bill asked for the \$50,000 threshold. We granted it to you and to the administration so we could keep a flood of litigation from going into the courts. So we did what you asked. Then you go to the well and say we are doing the wrong thing. We just tried to accommodate you.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Florida [Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN].

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time and I thank him for all the help he has given to this cause for freedom for the Cuban people.

Mr. Speaker, as the previous speakers have pointed out, those same allies who stood with us against undemocratic regimes in Haiti and South Africa and Iraq and many other places have decided to turn their backs on Cuba, preferring to gain a quick and easy dollar from the repression against the people on the island.

Thankfully, America, a land which has given a second chance to many people like myself who escaped Communist tyranny, will once again live up to its reputation as the defender of freedom and human rights in the world.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation reasserts our commitment to the Cuban people that this Nation will not engage the Castro dictatorship economically or politically. It recognizes that such an unlawful regime deserves our rejection, and it further emphasizes our support for the Cuban people by outlining a framework to assist a free and democratic transitional government in my native homeland.

Mr. Speaker, the Committee on International Relations recently had the opportunity to listen to some of the relatives of the four murdered pilots, innocent civilians who were brutally attacked and murdered by the Castro regime. They strongly support even tougher sanctions against the tyrant. This legislation will help reduce the immoral investments by sending a clear message to these foreign investors: If you traffic in confiscated American property in Cuba, you will not be able to do business as usual in the United States.

Simply stated, those investors who wish to invest in Cuba have to make a choice between becoming accomplices to Castro's dictatorship or participating in the United States market. It is unfortunate that many of our allies have opposed this legislation, but to them I ask: How many more have to be harassed, arrested or killed before you stop helping the Cuban tyrant? Again, to our allies: How many more have to

give their lives to free their homeland before you desist in engaging in commerce and financing Castro's communist dictatorship? To our allies, join with us in helping to establish freedom and democracy to the enslaved and oppressed people of Cuba.

Mr. MORAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SERRANO].

Mr. SERRANO. Mr. Speaker, it is very troubling when you come to the well and speak and have the full realization that nothing you say will finally sway the vote. This bill will pass and the President will sign it, because the President has been advised that Miami has votes that he can pick up. I will support him in New York, and he has a lot of votes in New York. But he has no votes in Miami, and that is the travesty of this situation.

What we have here is more of the same. It is more of a policy that has not worked. It has not worked for those of us who feel that the Cubans should be left alone to determine their own destiny, and it has not worked for those who wanted to get the Cuban Government to throw out Fidel Castro and hang him by his toenails.

Except that this time, Mr. Speaker, as has been stated on this floor, it goes further. It goes deeper. Now we are telling our allies that we have no respect for their own sovereignty. Not only do we not have any respect for the Cuban sovereignty, but now we are going to tell Canada, Mexico, and everyone else that they must behave the way we behave.

When the embargo was the simple embargo, as some people would like to think it is, no one in the world supported us. Now that it will try to include even our allies, we think that Canada and everyone will jump up and say this is a great bill, and HELMS and BURTON were correct; they can save the world for democracy.

Well, our arrogance is such that we do not care what some of our allies say, especially those that used to be our enemies a few years ago. But it is interesting to note that the Yeltsin government this morning, or last night, said you cannot do this, and we will continue to deal with Cuba regardless of what you say, because this is wrong.

The part that no one wants to mention here, because it is very delicate, is the fact that we are not reacting here to the issue in general. We are reacting to the downing of two airplanes. And I have stood on this floor on various occasions and said that that was an act that we should all condemn. But our Government knew those planes were flying over on 25 different occasions, and we did nothing. And our Government knew that the person who was heading that group flew without a license on a couple of occasions, including this last one, where they had to turn back.

We had removed that person's license because we confirmed that that group flew over Cuba last July, buzzed the Capitol building, and dropped half a million leaflets. That is why we are here today. We are not here today and the President is not on board because our desire to bring down the Castro government has changed. We are here today because the Florida primaries are coming soon, and because people have to play up to that whole situation.

That is sad, Mr. Speaker. For these kinds of comments people like me take a lot of heat. But it has to be said, because the truth shall set everybody free, and maybe we need to be free as much as other people in the Caribbean need to be free.

Tonight we will stand up and say we are tough. We will continue to deal with China, but we are tough on Cuba. We will deal with Vietnam, but we will be tough on Cuba. We are going to meet with North Korea, but we are tough on Cuba.

If you really wanted to make a change in the Cuban Government from afar, which I think it is none of our business, all you have done is taken the leader of that country and wrapped him up in the Cuban flag once again as a nationalist hero. Why? Because you are pounding on that little island once again.

So where is the victory? There is no victory. I stand here today more than ever saying we are wrong. Instead of doing this, what we should do is tomorrow begin to find a way to speak to the Cuban Government. And if not on all issues, then why not be fair?

□ 1400

When there was an immigration problem we spoke about immigration. Let us talk about air space now. Let us find out who is telling the truth. It might save us from future tragedies.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN].

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, this debate would be interesting, and the gentleman who just spoke his remarks would have resonance if we were not dealing with a first degree murderer. In 1974, at a seminar in Virginia, a former ambassador, now long gone to heaven, told me that Castro personally executed in the parking lot of a movie theater with gunshots, himself pulling the trigger, the young man who had beaten him for student union president in the late forties. I could not believe my ears. I checked it out with the State Department, Library of Congress. It appears to be a fact. Again, he has killed people in cold blooded murder.

I am just back from Bosnia. I do not care what the Europeans do. They traded with Haiphong while we were dying for freedom in all of Southeast Asia. I

do not care what anybody does. Our country has to do what is right, and Castro is a first degree murderer. If we want to hand him a baseball bat like Dan Rather of CBS and an elite party in Manhattan, then you are an accessory in encouraging this first degree murderer. He has ordered people beaten to death with baseball bats.

What an absurd debate.

Mr. MORAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. RANGEL].

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I hate to say this is a political piece of legislation for fear of offending my friends, so please look into the Federal Election Commission, and ignore all of these campaign contributions that are pouring in here to Members that have taken the position that now is the time to get the murderer through locking up the people in Cuba. For those people that are offended because someone suggests that it might be political, let me make it clear. The fact that the only Democratic opponent I had in a primary in the last 25 years, that 85 percent of his campaign funds came out of Miami, hey, that is not political, and I challenge people who would even think that.

But let us get down to the merits. We are outraged at murder. The Speaker is gone; he was here. What do we do about it? Hold the people of Cuba American hostage and tell them that they have to fly over Cuba and put pamphlets down there in order to get Americans' attention? Cut off food, cut off trade, cut off relationships with the people in Cuba because we do not like the bum that is running it? Are we in love with whoever runs China? As my colleagues know, what are we going to do there; put an embargo on China, on North Vietnam or North Korea? No. There are no votes in the United States for those people. My colleagues know it and I know it.

They sure got my President's attention; let us see what we can do now with these Republican candidates. Let us get it on their agenda, and let me congratulate the authors of this historic piece of legislation. I thought it was born dead. But the courage of four Americans out of Miami has not only given it new life, it has shattered reason and common sense as relates to trade and foreign policy.

Let me say this. This is a done deal. We cannot do anything about it. But do me a favor. Tell our brave Cuban Americans in Miami do not risk any more lives, mission accomplished, they were brave enough to take the gamble, they won, they won, the bill is here, no one challenges it, the President. Everything that was bad about this bill, four murderers now have corrected it. Wow, is that a legislative history.

But if people are breaking our laws, breaking international law, flying over a country, and we would know it, and

we condone it, and we do not stop them from saving their own lives, that is morally wrong. Are we saying that if these pilots want to go off in a storm against their best interests that we cannot stop them? Let us hope that these courageous acts of these people who were shot out of the sky are not mimicked by other people who believe we have to take it one step further.

Oh, I know there are some of my colleagues waiting for the invasion, and if we send that signal that we are ready to go in like Haiti and we are ready to do whatever we can do, we may have 4 more pilots saying let us do it at least between now and the general election. We made mistakes; we will make others.

I am not nearly as concerned as I appear to be because this law is written so poorly we cannot even enforce it.

They are not going to be angry with us, my colleague, the gentleman from California [Mr. CAMPBELL], not our allies. They are going to feel sorry for us. No great Nation like ours can have the arrogance to tell some other country what they can do with their foreign trade. And the whole idea that this is going to be something to bring down Castro is one that I do not think the authors believe.

After the Democratic victories in November, come, can we not talk together?

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. TORRICELLI], my colleague who has done so much work in this area.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my colleague, the gentleman from Indiana, Chairman BURTON, for yielding me time on what should be the proudest day of his congressional career. The gentleman has done great service to the United States and to the people of Cuba by bringing this legislation forward, and he has my congratulations.

I never thought, however, Mr. Speaker, that I would hear a day when Members of Congress would come to the floor while the bodies of four Americans are still lost in the Straits of Florida, having been murdered by Fidel Castro, talking about consideration for Canadian investors, worrying about European corporations while there are still hundreds of American corporations whose property was stolen from them and is being resold; consideration for the Canadian investors, worrying about the Spanish companies, extraterritoriality.

People are going to American courts under this bill, I would say to the gentleman from California [Mr. Campbell], because the Cuban courts are unavailable. If they could get their grievances redressed in Cuban courts for the last 30 years, they would have gone there. They would have gone there. They cannot. So we are opening ours up.

Consideration for our European allies? If this were an island in the Mediterranean, 35 years later, hundreds of people in jail, planes being shot down off our coast, do my colleagues think we would be silent? As allies, we would have been there demanding elections and freedom and taking a stand. Now we are asked to have consideration for our European allies.

If America stands alone for freedom in Cuba, for the rights of our own citizens against the jails and the torture, then America has never been in better company.

This legislation is the final in a series of acts in uniting this Congress on a bipartisan basis and making clear to the people of Cuba there is no reconciliation with Fidel Castro, there is no compromise, it is time to bring the dictatorship to a close, and we do this as we did against South Africa with apartheid, as we do today against Libya and Iraq, by using our economic leverage.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be a cosponsor of this bill. I congratulate my bipartisan colleagues and the President of the United States for offering his signature, and to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON], on this good day.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS].

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I reluctantly get up here and oppose most of my Florida colleagues and people who I think mean to be right but, unfortunately, their solution is wrong. Let me put it in some perspective.

If my colleagues had come here 34 years ago, as I was privileged to do, and listened on this floor and in this well, my colleagues would have heard the same speeches made then as we do now. Every day more than half of the 1-minute speeches were devoted to trashing Castro and the Cuban Government, and in that same session of Congress we passed every looney law that one can think of, and most of them are still on the books. In fact, they are all still on the books.

I tried to isolate Cuba and tried to bring down Castro through American law. I made those speeches, I voted for those laws, I have come to the conclusion that they were a mistake.

What has happened is that we have empowered Castro to make a villain out of the United States, and by villainizing us he has been able to acquire the political clout that he needs to keep the kind of control he has had in Cuba. We would have been far wiser and much more successful had we not isolated Cuba and the Cuban people, and we continued to work with them, to listen to them, to trade with them, and to have commerce with them. The tourism that we enjoyed with each other, the fruits and vegetables that came from the island, all of those

things; we would have been better off, and the Cubans would have been better off, and Castro would have long been gone from power had we done that.

This law, as well-intended as it is, is not going to work. There is a good chance that it will boomerang on us. The mistakes we made, mistakes that we made here in law, are copied over and over again, and this could hurt us more than it will ever hurt Castro. Please vote no.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. SANFORD].

Mr. SANFORD. Mr. Speaker, during this discussion we have heard a lot of debate, and the problem with that debate is that it has been filled with Washington voices. If there is anything that we have learned, it is that Washington does not know best. So I think the missing ingredient in this discussion is, what is it the Cuban people living in Cuba think? And in testimony after testimony with the gentleman from Indiana, Chairman BURTON, what we have heard is that the people at home in Cuba think that the way that we solve this problem is not by sending tourist dollars to prop up Fidel Castro, not by allowing investment dollars to go in and prop up Fidel Castro, but rather by tightening the embargo.

In this case I think we should listen to those voices.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. MILLER].

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, the Cuban Government committed a reprehensible and tragic act when it decided to shoot down two civilian airplanes flown by the Cuban-American organization Brothers to the Rescue last month. And I send my condolences to the families of the victims.

The shutdown was a tragedy in so many ways. It could and should have been avoided.

The Cubans could have taken alternate steps. But they specifically had warned the United States and Brothers that this would happen. The group and the administration did not heed those warnings. The United States failed to prevent the group from continuing its flights of fancy and I believe the group deliberately ventured into hostile territory to provoke a U.S. reaction.

The shutdown was a tragedy as well because but for that tragic action this legislation would not have won the last support that it needed. And the legislation is wrong. Instead, we should continue to open United States policy toward Cuba—for the benefit of Cuban-Americans, for American businesses, and for regional peace, and, yes, democracy.

But now Congress is poised to leap backward today as it considers the so-called Cuban Liberty Act.

We should not do that.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation was wrong before the shutdown happened and it remains wrong today.

The shutdown has not provided a single justification for a policy that even the administration that now embraces it had just recently denounced.

It is extremely likely that America will be cited for trade violations over this act.

And Fidel Castro, after having outlived over 35 years of U.S. embargo, surely will not back down in his remaining years because of additional embargoes. United States hostility to Cuba in fact has been his political savior.

Do not listen to those who say that a vote against this bill is a vote for Fidel Castro. That is McCarthyism.

Denounce Cuba in the United Nations, yes. But summon the courage to vote against this bill.

Vote against this bill because it is bad policy. Vote against this bill because it violates international trade law and will be an international embarrassment for the United States. Vote against this bill, my colleagues, because it is contrary to our best interests.

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Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to yield 1 minute to my colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. ZIMMER].

Mr. ZIMMER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, some who are opposed to this legislation argue, against all evidence, that conciliation and appeasement will liberalize the Castro regime, when 35 years of history has proved exactly the opposite. The downing of those airplanes shows that Fidel Castro cares only about his power and only about the maintenance of his corrupt regime. It was the pretext he was looking for to crack down on Concilio Cubano and other democratic organizations that were beginning to flower within Cuba. It was not the fault of the U.S. Government. It was not the fault of the Americans who flew those planes. It was the fault of Fidel Castro, who insisted on perpetuating his dictatorship.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased that the President has agreed to sign this legislation, but I am disappointed that he has asked for the power to waive its key provisions. I urge the President, do not waive these provisions. The time has come to be tough with Fidel Castro. We know appeasement does not work. We know only firmness will.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Connecticut [Ms. DELAURIO].

Ms. DELAURIO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to know where the outrage of some of my colleagues was when the United

States supported the Khmer Rouge and when the Khmer Rouge killed 1.2 million Cambodians. I guess the Cambodians do not vote in large numbers in this country.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition today to this bill. I oppose this bill, even though I know that it has support in this Congress. I oppose this bill even though I strongly condemn the Castro government's brutal murder of civilian Americans in the Florida Straits. I oppose this bill even though I strongly support freedom and democracy for the Cuban people.

I oppose this bill because it is an unworkable solution to an intractable problem. The legislation would clog our Nation's courts with unenforceable new claims against foreign governments, companies, and individuals. It creates a quagmire of inflexibility which we will come to regret when needed change comes to Cuba. It would harm America's important relationships with our sister democracies abroad. It sets a dangerous precedent of rash action instead of reasoned and deliberate progress.

Let us not do serious damage to our own national interest in response to atrocities which we universally abhor and condemn. Vote against this conference report.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to yield 2 minutes to my colleague, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. DEUTSCH].

Mr. DEUTSCH. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this bipartisan effort to change the direction of the dictatorship in Cuba. My district represents the Florida Keys, and when I stand in Key West, FL, I am closer to Havana than I am to Miami. I live about 40 miles north of Miami.

This is not an esoteric philosophical issue in south Florida. This truly is a local issue, because we have a better sense, I think, than most of this country, unfortunately, of what is going on in an evil empire 90 miles from our shore, an empire that really is in the world's Hall of Fame of atrocities today, not yesterday, not just killing four Americans and planes, but torturing and killing the civilians that live in their own country. That is the empire that is 90 miles from our shore.

What does this bill do? This bill specifically gives a legal right of action to Americans whose property was taken illegally. That is the substance of this bill. The thrust behind it is to prevent other people, other nationals in other countries, from investing in Cuba, to try to end the empire that exists today. The investments of Canadians, of Spaniards, have not changed the empire, the evil empire in Cuba. It goes on today with their investments.

What we need to do is we need to strangle those investments. We need to end those investments, and let the people of Cuba know that there is hope,

that the dictatorship, that the Castro dictatorship which is holding on by its fingernails is going to end, and that this Congress, the center of hope and democracy and freedom in the world, is part of that effort.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that my colleagues in a short time will join me, both Democrats and Republicans throughout the country, in acknowledging that we want freedom in Cuba, we want a free society, a free economy, a freedom of thought, a freedom of action that this bill will be part of creating.

I can think of nothing that I am prouder of as part of my legislative career than to have been part of the adoption, the drafting, and hopefully now, very shortly, the passage of this bill.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York [Ms. VELÁZQUEZ].

Ms. VELÁZQUEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my strong opposition to the conference report, not just because this is the wrong bill, but it is the wrong bill at the wrong time. No one will deny that last week's tragedy is truly regrettable, but I will urge my colleagues to respond in a level-headed manner, not with a reflex policy for the moment.

Tightening a 35-year embargo will only cause more pain to these innocent people. Under the current embargo the human cost has already been too high. Cubans cannot even get basic necessities like food and medicine. How much more pain do we have to inflict on these people before it is enough? After more than 3 decades, we should be ready to admit that this embargo has failed miserably. The Castro government has survived the storm. The average Cuban looks at Fidel as a hero, and the United States Government as the enemy. Nobody wants a repeat of last week, but today's action will further isolate and deprive the Cuban people, increasing tensions and setting the stage for another violent crisis.

As world leaders, we should extend a peaceful hand and keep dialog between our two countries open. It is time we live by our humanitarian ideals and stop playing the bully. If we are serious about democracy, then more dialog, not an embargo, is the answer.

Mr. Speaker, we must not allow heated passion to blind us. This bill leads us down the same wrong path we have followed for 3 decades. I urge my colleagues to vote "no" on this conference report. We must learn to look before we legislate.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I am very happy to yield 1 minute to our colleague, the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. KENNEDY], who has been a big help on this bill.

Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take a little

exception with talk that has been heard around here a lot about "let us not act in heated passion." Why should we not react in heated passion when human rights abuses are being seen in Cuba, 90 miles off our shore? Why should we not react in passion when Fidel Castro knowingly gives the military orders for two civilian aircraft with American citizens on board to be shot down over international waters?

I am passionate about that, and I am passionate about human rights abuse in Cuba. A lot of people have said that the embargo that was first instituted by President Kennedy has not worked. There is a good explanation for that. The Soviet Union used to subsidize Castro's regime for the last 30-odd years. That is no longer the case. That is why Fidel Castro is looking for foreign investment to help prop up his dictatorial regime and further oppress the people. Make no mistake about it, the reason why this bill is so important right now is because he needs foreign investment now more than he did before.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to support this bill. It is bipartisan. The President supported it. I am in strong support of this bill.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Washington [Mr. McDERMOTT].

Mr. McDERMOTT. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, February 25, most of us picked up our morning paper to read that two planes, piloted by Cuban-Americans, had been shot down near Cuba. This unfortunate incident was appropriately denounced by both President Clinton and the U.N. Security Council.

In addition to this initial response, the President quickly imposed several restrictions on Cuba and ensured that the families of those killed would be compensated.

The downing of the planes was an inexcusable action by the Cuban authorities, and I believe that President Clinton was right to initiate an immediate and direct response.

This is a very emotional situation and the immediate reaction is to strike back, but that is the wrong reaction. It is wrong to define our long-term relationship on the basis of this tragic incident. Passage of the Helms-Burton bill is a shortsighted, irrational response to this international incident.

This legislation will not topple Castro, this legislation will only tie the hands of President Clinton and increase the pain and suffering of the Cuban people.

In my opinion, this legislation not only violates international law, it punishes our international allies by attempting to force them to comply with our 34-year-old embargo. An embargo that has not worked. This legislation will allow Cuban-Americans to use United States courts to sue foreign

companies who invest in properties that were confiscated by the Castro government. While emotionally justifiable, it infringes upon our allies' sovereignty, and possibly violates our trade agreements.

Helms-Burton would limit the authority of the President to alter or lift parts of the embargo—even for strict humanitarian purposes—by Executive decree. The Executive orders which make up our policy on Cuba become frozen into law. If the President sought to ease restrictions on Cuba in response to democratic changes, he would only be able to do so with congressional approval.

We all know that the Cuban economy is suffering. Cuba is forced to pay a premium for importing staple foods for its people. Medicines are in short supply, causing health care delivery to crumble. Is this what we really want for the Cuban people? Is this how our democracy should operate?

Engaging Cuba, increasing dialog, and pressuring for increased human rights and democratic reform is the best way to genuinely democratize Cuba and improve relations with one of our closest neighbors.

Passage of Helms-Burton will only deepen the rift between our two countries and cause further suffering of the very people we are trying to help.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to my colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. MENENDEZ], who has been a tremendous help on this bill.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee, and congratulate him on his bill, which I have helped co-author.

Mr. Speaker, let me thank my 347 fellow Members of this House, including 121 Democrats who have joined with us and the President in striking a blow for democracy and striking a blow against the Castro regime. I want to answer some of the issues. This question of extraterritoriality, under the Cuban Democracy Act everybody acknowledges that, and many people voted for it in this House who oppose this today. The fact of the matter is that under that act we heard all these issues from Canada and Mexico and everybody else, that in fact this was extraterritorial. What is the relationship today? We entered into the most significant trade agreement with Canada and Mexico, and they are trading with us, and so much, I think, for the comment.

This is not about trade. Someone said this is about trade. No, this is about trafficking intentionally in illegally confiscated properties of U.S. citizens and U.S. companies. Canadians are arguing for their citizens and their interests and their rights. I am coming here to argue for American citizens and American businesses and their rights. I am not going to get up here and start arguing for other countries.

The fact of the matter is that if you know that that property was not legally yours, and you are willing to buy it even though you know it was stolen from somebody else, you are in receipt of stolen property. If you want to do that, fine, then take the risk. And we do this prospectively, so you know that you are going to have to continue to traffic in the property or purchase properties in the future.

Title III has a suspension authority for the President of all the hobgoblins we have heard about come to reality. The President, in his letter to all of us, said, he asked the administration to work vigorously with the Congress to set aside our remaining differences and reach rapid agreement on the Libertad Act. Last week we achieved that objective. The conference report is “* * * a strong bipartisan response that tightens the economic embargo against the Cuban regime and permits us to continue to promote democratic change in Cuba.”

Last, let me just say that if Members are proud of China's record of prison camps, slave labor, dissident jailings, 20 years later after our relationships and our investments, if they are proud of the Canadian and Mexican and Spanish investments in Cuba over the last several years that have produced no democracy, that have produced greater repression, and that have kept the regime afloat, then they should vote against the bill.

But if in fact what Members want to do is what I believe the overwhelming Members of this House already by the rule vote and in past votes want to do, to strike a blow for democracy and strike, in fact, a blow on behalf of the Cuban people and against the Castro regime, they will be voting with us on this bill.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to gentleman from California [Mr. BECERRA].

Mr. BECERRA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, first let us all agree that what happened a week ago that took the lives of several Americans was regrettable and should not have happened, but it is always bad policy when you try to achieve political ends through economic means, especially when they are indirect economic means.

The actual three and one-half-decade-old embargo against Cuba is a perfect example of why we cannot achieve that through an economic embargo. The Castro government remains, and the only people who have been hurt are the people of Cuba, the women and children of Cuba. What we are doing through this bill is using our economic might to bully our international allies and friends to do what we think is best, even though the entire international community has spoken against this type of embargo.

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Indeed, even Canada, our northern neighbor, our great friend, has said it will take us to international court to say that this is a means, a barrier against free trade throughout the world. This is not the way to do things.

Let us address what happened last week in the taking of several American lives, but let us not try to mix the things up that we have here today and say that because some people died, regrettably, that now we should institute a policy that will ultimately take the lives of many people in a country called Cuba though politically we may disagree with what is going on with the government. This is not the way to do it. We should focus where we should. Let us not create bad policy because a bad situation occurred.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, the reason I waited until near the end of the debate to take my time is because, as is always the case, there is a lot of misinformation that takes place in this debate and I wanted to make sure I clarified these arguments.

First of all, a lot of my colleagues have said we are going to hurt the people of Cuba. When Castro has a foreign investor invest in Cuba, the money that is paid by the employees of that firm goes to Castro. Let us say that they get \$400 a month. Castro gets the \$400 a month and then he pays them in the local currency, \$400 of that local currency. But the exchange rate is 700 to 1, which means the average Cuban is making less than \$5 a month.

We cannot hurt those poor people much worse than Castro has hurt them. The embargo is not going to hurt the Cuban people. Castro has murdered the Cuban people economically, and literally in many cases.

And I would like to say to my colleagues who opposed the embargo, when we talked about these same issues when we had the embargo against South Africa, they took a different position. There is no consistency in their arguments.

When Castro took power, Cuba had the highest standard of living in Latin America. Today it is the lowest, not because of the United States embargo, because for the past 35 years they have been propped up by the Soviet Union, but because of Castro's Communist government control policies that do not work. He is the one that has been hurting the Cuban people, not the United States and not the embargo, because the embargo had no teeth in it until 3 years ago.

Somebody said that the OAS was not with us on this. The fact of the matter is Castro has been excommunicated from the Organization of American States because of his actions, because of his exporting of revolution.

My colleagues have said, you know, we are going to penalize people who invest in Cuba and have invested in Cuba. This is a prospective bill. People who have already bought confiscated U.S. property will not be penalized unless they buy more American property. So if they have already got property down there, they are not going to fall under this bill.

But people who buy confiscated American property in the future are going to be penalized because there will be a cause of action in U.S. courts unless suspended by the President. And, No. 2, anybody that traffics in confiscated U.S. property will not be able to get a visa to come to the United States.

They know full well, the Canadians, the Spanish and everybody else, they know that this bill takes effect on the date of enactment, and if they buy property that is taken away from Americans, stolen from Americans by Fidel Castro, they know what they are getting into. So I have no sympathy for those people who want to buy confiscated, stolen American property to give Castro the hard currency that he needs to stay in power.

Now, a lot of my colleagues say, you know, we ought to do business with this guy, especially since Boris Yeltsin says we should. Well, Russia and the Soviet Union have been supporting Castro all along, so that does not surprise me, but the facts of the matter are these: Castro has exported communist revolution in Africa, in Central America, in South Africa where Che Guevara was killed. He has exported communism wherever he could. He is a committed revolutionary and he still believes.

That Castro has killed innocent human beings. He has put thousands and thousands of people in his Communist gulags. If you want to know how they are treated, read Armando Valderas' book "Against All Hope" and it will tell you very clearly how he treats people who disagree with him.

My colleague, the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN], talked about a fellow who defeated him in a college race for student body president, and Castro shot him to death. That is the kind of guy we are talking about. He is a horrible human being, one that should not be in power, especially not for 35 years.

Two years ago, on the high seas, he had his Cuban Navy pull up alongside a tugboat with people on it who were fleeing to freedom. Women were holding their babies above their heads, and he ordered his Navy to wash them off the decks with power hoses. The women took the babies, the children, into the hold of the tugboat, and Castro brought his navy ship alongside. They directed the hoses into the hold and they sunk that ship, that tugboat, and killed those women and children like rats.

This is the kind of government you guys want to do business with, and my colleagues' answer is, well, the way to work with Castro is to open up trade and do business with him, that will solve the problem. Really? Do you really believe that? We have opened up trade with Communist China. It has not changed the Communist regime over there. We have opened up trade with Communist Vietnam. That has not changed anything.

And here we are, 90 miles from our border they are shooting down planes with innocent Americans in them, in international air space, and we are supposed to say we are going to solve this problem by doing business with him. Baloney. The way you deal with Fidel Castro, since he is on his last legs, is do not let him have the hard dollars that he needs to stay in power, and that is what this bill does.

This bill will force him from power, I really believe that, in the next 2 or 3 years, and then the people of Cuba will have freedom, democracy, and human rights because there is going to be about \$3 or \$4 billion invested very quickly, and they will have the freedom that they wanted all these years.

Get out of here, Castro. We want you gone. We want freedom, democracy, and human rights throughout this hemisphere, and you are the last hold-out.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. CAMPBELL].

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Speaker, whenever an economic sanction has worked in our history, whether it be South Africa, Haiti, Iraq, or even worked in part, it is because our allies have agreed with it. What we do today alienates our allies at a time when we need them most.

It is not out of any concern for investors in Canada or investors in Spain that I rise in opposition to title III of this bill. It is precisely because I want to put pressure on Fidel Castro's Cuba. But I know that the only way to put effective pressure, whether it be a sugar embargo, a tobacco embargo, limited sanctions or a total quarantine, is when we have our trading partners and our allies with us.

Today, for the first time in the history of American jurisprudence, we are applying a law not to goods that come into our country, not to acts that happen within our country, but to goods and acts that are outside of our country. However great our outrage, that is not American jurisprudence. That is extraterritoriality. It drives our allies away at a time we need them most.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the conference report. I think there

should be no doubt that after the reprehensible actions by Mr. Castro and the regime, there is no disagreement among us here. We condemn that.

The difference here is the best way to respond and how best to bring an end to his regime. We knew that Fidel Castro was a reprehensible thug 3 weeks ago. We knew that he was 30 years ago. There is no change in that. He remains so today, but his recent actions should not change how we define or pursue the U.S. national interest.

I think this bill that is before us is a huge mistake, and I believe that for several reasons. First of all, as a matter of policy, it picks isolation over engagement. By increasing Cuba's isolation and by squeezing the Cuban people, the conference report risks a violent upheaval in Cuba and increases the risk of a massive flow of refugees.

I understand that now is not the time to lift the embargo. Bad deeds should not be rewarded. But ultimately the engagement of the Cuban people in trade and contacts with Cuba will open the door to a free Cuba. I say to my friend on the other side of the aisle that the most distinguished foreign policy spokesman of the Republican Party in the last generation was President Richard Nixon, and he believed that the isolation policy of the Cuban people was the wrong policy.

I also believe that this conference report is going to tie the hands of the President in knots. I understand that he accepts this bill but I think that is a mistake. The conference report restricts the ability of the United States to respond to changing conditions in Cuba. The transition from a Communist government to a free government is not going to be easy. We have learned that time and time again. What this bill does is, it freezes us out of the action at the very time that we want to be engaged, when we want to influence events in Cuba.

With regard to title III, the gentleman from California [Mr. CAMPBELL] has explained that very well, but let me just make this observation. My friends who are proponents of this bill have said over and over again, title III is the heart of the bill. But you know what they did? They gave it away. They gave away title III with the waiver to the President. If in fact title III is so important, if it is the heart of the bill, then why just give it away with a waiver to the President of the United States?

Incidentally, that title III defends only the interests of the rich, only the fellow who has a very large claim. The poor small claim holder is not going to get any remedy from this bill. This bill is going to shore up Castro, not bring him down. It enables him to do what he has done so effectively for 30 years, and that is to fan the flames of nationalism, to put all of the blame for the mess he has made of Cuba onto the

United States, so it plays into his hands.

We ought to be targeting our policy not at Castro and what is bad for Castro. The policy of the United States should be aimed at what is good for the Cuban people. This bill, this conference report, puts us at odds with all of our friends and allies, and it deeply offends them. The conference report departs from the proven and sound U.S. policies that we have used in other areas of the world.

Mr. Speaker, let me conclude, the conference report is going to increase the isolation of Cuba and its people. It is going to skew U.S. policy from the present course of promoting peaceful change. It is going to put the United States on the sidelines when this transition is underway in Cuba. It creates an unprecedented right for those who had property confiscated in Cuba to sue in United States courts. It hands Castro a deck of nationalist cards that he will play with consummate skill, and it contravenes U.S. international commitments and antagonizes our closest allies and trading partners.

This conference report is a mistake. It is a huge mistake for this country to make because it locks in the President of the United States in the conduct of American policy towards Cuba. I urge a vote against it.

Mr. BROWN of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Speaker, Castro is in trouble. He just rounded up the human rights activists and the people who oppose him. He put hundreds of them in prison just recently.

My colleague said that there is no guts in this bill except for title III. Title IV prohibits people who traffic in confiscated American property from getting visas to come to the United States of America, so they are going to have to choose: Do they want to do business with Castro or the United States? I believe they are going to want to do business with the United States. That is going to dry up hard currency for Castro.

You folk on that side of the aisle, the people who oppose this bill, wanted that \$50,000 limit to make sure that we would not have the courts flooded with litigation. The fact of the matter is, you asked for it, you got it, now you are complaining about it.

And, finally, when there is a transition, when democracy starts to come to Cuba and Castro is gone, there are provisions in the bill for the United States to help aid in the transition to democracy. So we are not going to be on the sidelines, Mr. Hamilton. We are going to be in there helping the Cuban people.

Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California [Mr. TORRES].

Mr. TORRES. Mr. Speaker, I rise to oppose the conference report on H.R. 927.

I am grateful to my colleague, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] for this opportunity to explain why the passage of H.R. 927 would be, in my opinion, not only a grave policy mistake by this body, but, would set in motion actions which would deliberately inflict upon the Cuban people suffering and deprivation. Yes, we all deplore the incident of the downing of Americans flying provocative flights over Cuban airspace but, they were warned countless times to desist. This legislation will not correct that situation.

At worst, this legislation is a cruel attempt by Members in both bodies—who are still fighting the cold war—to provoke civil disorder in Cuba. Today we need to send a wake-up call to those cold warriors in our midst—the cold war has ended. We won—remember.

What threat does the Government of Cuba present to the territory or people of the United States which would justify unleashing further pain and suffering and, I would warn, possible bloodshed, among the people of Cuba.

The United States is the only world superpower. Our military might dwarfs that of the combined armies and navies of Europe and certainly of the Americas. We maintain an armed, military presence, on the Island of Cuba—how many of you appreciate this reality.

This country maintains an armed, military base on Cuba's southern coast. The United States controls 45 square miles of southern Cuba, including a harbor, naval docking and ship repair facilities ordinance, supplies and administrative facilities—we even have two water distillation plants.

This U.S. military base includes both a naval and an air station. Over all—the United States military has a base right inside of Cuba which is three-quarter the total land area of the District of Columbia. One of the stated military missions for our base in Cuba is to serve as beachhead in case the United States decides to invade the Island.

It costs the American taxpayer over \$45 million a year to maintain this military base. Now, it looks to me like the military threat is reversed—it appears to me that this Island presents no military or strategic threat to the territory of the United States.

Why then are we considering legislation which appears to some to be designed to make economic and social conditions in Cuba so difficult for the average citizens, that these difficulties would create civic disorder, which would then provoke the Castro government to take measures against its population, which will result in increased violence and disorder on the Island, which will be used as a pretext for US military intervention.

At best, this legislation will have no effect upon the Cuban Government's hold on power, but will reveal to the international community the mindset of United States elected officials—who are so trapped, by old ways of thinking and by false pride, that they would act against a foreign government which poses no threat or danger to the national security of the United States of America.

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Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to my colleague, the gentlewoman from Florida [Mrs. MEEK].

Mrs. MEEK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I am one of the cosponsors of the Helms-Burton bill, and I have every strong rationale to do so. I know what the Cuban people have experienced. I have seen them from 1960 to 1961.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the conference agreement on the Libertad bill—the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act—which will tighten the embargo against Castro and his barbaric regime.

I am an original cosponsor of this bill, and I am pleased that President Clinton will sign it into law when it reaches his desk.

From time to time, we are called upon to take strong action against evil in the world.

We took strong action against apartheid in South Africa. We took strong action against a murderous dictatorship in Haiti. Today, Mr. Speaker, we have the opportunity to take strong and decisive action against the evil of Fidel Castro.

By now, every American knows of the murderous attack by Cuban Mig fighters only 11 days ago. Two U.S. civilian aircraft were destroyed, and four U.S. citizens were killed in this unjustified and unwarranted terrorist attack against unarmed civilians.

Brothers to the Rescue is a peaceful, humanitarian group responsible for saving over 6,000 lives. It is perfectly in character that Castro chose to viciously attack the members of this caring, dedicated group.

But in Miami, FL, which I represent in Congress, this senseless, brutal attack is the latest in a long list of murders, firing squads, imprisonments, harassments, human rights abuses, and political oppression perpetrated by Castro against the Cuban people.

Many of my constituents know Castro's ruthlessness first hand. Many fled from Castro's prisons. Many of my constituents still have relatives—mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters, nephews and cousins—who must endure the daily hardship and oppression of this cruel regime.

Is there any wonder why so many people were willing to leave everything they ever worked for and everything they ever owned to come to this country—just for the chance to live in freedom and raise their children without fear.

The Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act will put new international pressure on the Castro regime. Under its provisions:

The embargo against Cuba will be enacted into law. Up until now, the embargo has been enforced via an Executive order and subject to change by every new administration;

The owners of illegally confiscated properties in Cuba will be allowed to pursue legal action in United States District Court against those corporations and individuals who currently occupy and profit from those properties;

Corporate executives who purchase confiscated U.S. properties will have their visas to the United States revoked. Foreign business executives who invest in Cuba after the passage of this legislation will be subject to the same punitive action; and

To encourage democratic change, humanitarian and military transition assistance will be provided to a future Cuban Government that is committed to democracy.

Mr. Speaker, just as we helped the people of South Africa, and the people of Haiti, we

must help the people of Cuba in the time of their greatest need.

Castro is desperately clinging to power. He must be cut off, not thrown a lifetime. I believe that the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act will greatly hasten the fall of Fidel Castro's dictatorship.

And Mr. Speaker, I look forward to the time—in the near future—when I can greet—here in this Capitol—the democratically elected President of a free Cuba, as I have the democratically elected Presidents of a free South Africa and a free Haiti.

I strongly urge my colleagues to support this bill.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the distinguished Speaker, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. GINGRICH].

Mr. GINGRICH. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend, the gentleman from Indiana, for yielding to me.

I am delighted to have a chance to share with the House some thoughts on the conference report on H.R. 927, which I really see as a freedom contract with the Cuban people.

I found it interesting that the very distinguished ranking member of the committee, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON], did not seem to think this bill would be effective. I would just want to start by quoting from a letter from President Clinton, who said,

The conference report is a strong bipartisan response that tightens the economic embargo against the Cuban regime and permits us to continue to promote democratic change in Cuba. I urge the Congress to pass the Libertad bill in order to send Cuba a powerful message that the United States will not tolerate further loss of American life.

I am delighted that the President is now supporting this. But I must say even more decisive than the tragedy of the last few weeks has been a commitment which the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] led as chairman of the subcommittee, a commitment which the gentleman from Florida [Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN] led, a commitment which the gentleman from Florida [Mr. DIAZ-BALART] led and others in both the House and Senate, that said for a long time, we are committed to freedom for Cuba.

Let me remind my colleagues of the game that has been played. No dictator on the planet has been better than Fidel Castro at managing to create a sense that somehow he will always survive no matter what. No one has been better than Fidel at playing off various parts of the world and somehow magically appearing, bearded, in uniform, and prepared to talk about baseball, just a wonderfully pleasant, interesting person standing in the church pulpit, and, oh, by the way, forget the prisons, forget the secret police, forget the torture, forget the murders, forget the dictatorship, forget the poverty, forget the willingness to take on anyone and drive them out of Cuba, because after all he is such an interesting, char-

ismatic figure. And so, for the last couple years, life has gotten harder because with the fall of the Berlin Wall, with the collapse of the Soviet Empire, the subsidies are gone. The money is not there. The military protection is not there.

Suddenly, the Castro dictatorship was beginning to weaken. And now Fidel had a new line. He said to the younger Cuban bureaucracy, "Stick with me. I will manipulate the Americans. I will manage the transition. I will manipulate the European Union. I will find the money. And in the end I am still going to be here." And sadly, from the Clinton administration and from others, there were signals that maybe Fidel could pull it off. There were signals that maybe America was going to cave.

Business leaders went down to Cuba and began to praise the great opportunities the dictatorship offered. Oh, you might have to build that hotel near a prison camp, but what the heck, there will be profits. We began to have Members of Congress go down, because after all, the dictatorship was getting a more human face.

Those who studied knew it was not true. Chairman BURTON knew it was not true. The gentleman from Florida [Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN] knew it was not true. The gentleman from Florida [Mr. DIAZ-BALART] knew it was not true. People across America who studied Cuba said, "Wait a second, this is the same dictatorship, these are the same lies, these are the same false promises." And for a long time the Clinton administration opposed this bill.

And then a tragedy occurred, a tragedy that was unnecessary, a tragedy that should have been avoided, a tragedy which I believe strong representation from our State Department might well have avoided by saying to the Castro dictatorship, "We will not tolerate your shooting down innocent civilian aircraft. It violates every international rule."

The United Nations had what I thought was a pathetically weak response. They did not condemn. They did not censure. They deeply deplored. Kill a few people, we deeply deplore it.

Well, the U.S. Congress is doing something vastly beyond deplore. This bill says no one in Cuba and no one in the rest of the world should expect this embargo to be lifted until there is democracy in Cuba. There is no future for the Castro dictatorship. There are no deals. There is no special business investment. There is no loophole. There is no sweetheart agreement.

This also says the Congress will be involved unless the President certifies that the transition to a democratic regime is under way in a measurable, real way. It says one other; maybe it is shocking to some of our friends; it says if Castro has confiscated the property

of Americans, we are going to defend the property right of Americans, and, yes, if you come from Canada or you come from France or you come from some other country and you have purchased the confiscated property of Americans, we are going to take steps to protect American citizens against those who would exploit what a dictatorship has done to hurt Americans.

Maybe some of our friends think it is too much for the American Government to protect Americans. Maybe some people think the Cuban market is so huge and so profitable that you ought to cut yourself off from the American market to make sure you can trade in Havana. Well, I am perfectly happy to have companies make that decision. If a European company or a Canadian company wants to say, we will prove our commitment to Fidel, we are going to ship our goods to Havana, and that means we are not going to be in the United States market, I somehow think somewhere on the planet there will be a competitor willing to come to America or there will be an American company willing to provide the goods and service, and we will survive.

It is perfectly fair for us to say to the world we are going to defend Americans, we are going to defend American property rights, we are going to oppose the Castro dictatorship.

And it is even more important, and I want to close this because I think it is vital to understand, we have a history that goes back 98 years from this year, a history that said just about this point a century ago, as the Spanish continued to oppress Cuba and the Cuban people were in a long and bloody and terrible insurrection, just about literally 100 years ago, people began to stand in this well and talk about our obligation to help the Cuban people liberate themselves from Spain.

Fidel Castro has been a tragic detour on what was a long period of the natural friendship between the American people, who have sympathized and supported the Cuban people, and we are prepared to say in this House, with our vote this afternoon, just as you wanted Cuba to be free of the dictatorship of Spain, we want the Cuban people to be free of the dictatorship of Fidel, and we are by this act and by this law committing ourselves to a freedom contract with the people of Cuba and we are saying to every young Cuban leader in Cuba and every younger Cuban bureaucrat, your future is not with Fidel and decay. Your future is with freedom and prosperity. If you will simply help us, we will work with you for the transition, and together we will establish the right to be free once again in our neighbor to the south.

I urge every Member, the President urges a "yes" vote, we urge a "yes" vote, the Cuban people want a "yes" vote, and I think the future of freedom demands a "yes" vote.

Mr. FARR of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to speak in strong opposition to H.R. 927, the Cuban Liberty Act. This legislation would, in the name of ending the rule of Castro, cause even greater harm to the Cuban people and jeopardize our relations with many of our important allies.

As were all Americans, I was outraged by the February 24 shutdown of two American Cessnas near Cuba. Simply put, there is no excuse for sending two MiG fighters against unarmed passenger planes.

H.R. 927, however, is the wrong way to respond. The bill would not have prevented the tragic events of 2 weeks ago, nor would it significantly improve upon the additional sanctions already taken by the President as a result of the attack.

We should not forget that we already impose a comprehensive travel and trade embargo against Cuba. Virtually no exports are permitted to Cuba, and travel is strictly limited. And American businesses are prohibited from conducting virtually any economic activity in Cuba.

Economic indicators have shown that the embargo has had a dramatic effect on the Cuban economy. Sadly, however, virtually all of the suffering has been felt by the Cuban people. They have faced serious food shortages, as well as a lack of needed medicine and medical supplies, threatening their health and welfare.

Presumably because this embargo has not let to a change in Cuba's leadership—even though it has hurt the people of Cuba—Congress has decided to take the embargo even further: to try to prevent any country from trading with Cuba. Specifically, provisions in this bill would permit Cuban-Americans to sue foreign companies if they use, or profit from, confiscated property from Cuba.

This provision has been strongly opposed by many of our important trading allies, including Canada, Great Britain, France, and Mexico. They rightly see this as a violation of international law, and a violation of their sovereignty—an attempt by one country to force their foreign policy on another.

Mr. Speaker, is it worth risking our relationship with our allies to try to strangle Cuba even further? I don't think so.

If these provisions actually succeed in cutting off additional investment in Cuba, it seems unlikely that the results will benefit the Cuban people. Our embargo has already hurt Cuba's economy severely, yet has only caused more pain for the Cuban people with no change in Cuba's leadership. Given the results of this policy to date, expanding the embargo even more would seem unwise and ineffective, if not downright cruel.

Interestingly, some have suggested that the provision will have no effect on foreign investment in Cuba. Why? Because the bill allows individuals to settle their cases against foreign companies out of court. Thus, foreign companies could still invest in Cuba. However, those few Cuban-Americans who held large amounts of property in Cuba could realize large financial gains from these settlements. The possibility that a few could be enriched by this bill, even as the people of Cuba suffer from the current embargo, concerns me even more.

In any event, I cannot support legislation which, at the very least, threatens the future of

our trading relationships, hurts our own economic security, and does nothing to alleviate the suffering of the Cuban people. Let us pursue a policy of more openness and greater engagement with Cuba, not less, if we truly wish to bring about greater change and help the people of Cuba.

Mr. DEUTSCH. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be standing in front of this body as we get ready to vote on the Helms-Burton bill. This piece of legislation will send a clear message to Castro and other petty dictators around the world that America will not stand for political persecution. We will not put our heads in the sand while this tyrant, only 90 miles from our shores, oppresses his own innocent citizens.

It is a tragedy that it took the recent shooting down of two unarmed, civilian humanitarian planes by Cuban fighters to help bring the Helms-Burton bill to the floor. Fidel Castro has been committing atrocities against the Cuban people for decades and these recent repugnant acts only serve to confirm a conclusion that we already know. Castro will never change. He still has political prisoners, including women and children, languishing in his jails. He still murders his own people as they attempt to flee political persecution. He still is planning to construct a nuclear power plant that can only be considered a humanitarian disaster. There can be no compromise. Castro is an absolute dictator that needs to be taken down absolutely.

The Helms-Burton bill will force Castro from power and put an end to these acts of oppression. It will strangle Castro by cutting off a large segment of foreign investment that is currently propping up his regime. Some of my colleagues feel that lessening our grip on Cuba would be the best way to help the Cuban people. I passionately disagree. Castro's acts over the last several weeks only proves the urgent necessity for this bill and the need to strengthen our resolve against this rogue dictator, rather than weaken it. Mr. Castro, we will not compromise on this issue. The U.S. Congress will not lower our support to ending the Castro regime. We will fight to the end to free the noose that currently surrounds the Cuban people. I urge my colleagues to join with me in voting in support of Helms-Burton, in support of freedom and democracy.

Mr. BERMAN. I rise to oppose this bill. I do this reluctantly. There is much in this legislation that I support and have supported in the past.

I am not, for example, opposed to codifying the embargo on Cuba. There is no doubt that Castro is a dictator and murderer whose rule should be vigorously resisted.

Nor am I opposed to the extraterritorial nature of this legislation although I wish such unilateral American action was not necessary. I would greatly welcome international cooperation in dealing with the world's dictators as well as with other threats to international stability.

However, I must vote against this bill. When this bill was marked up in the International Relations Committee, I introduced an amendment which carved out an exception for some penalties for certain activities. My amendment was accepted by all sides—including proponents of this legislation, but then, unfortunately, it was dropped in conference.

I do not understand why my amendment was dropped. It was not contrary to the intent of the sponsors of this legislation.

My amendment retained due process protection already contained in the Trading With the Enemy Act [TWEA] and kept exceptions for news gathering, research, and clearly defined educational, religious, and human rights activities.

In 1992, when we passed similar legislation, we added substantial civil penalties to Treasury's enforcement arsenal to prevent a surge of business or tourist travel to Cuba.

We all agreed and continue to agree that trips to acquire a winter sunbather or make a quick buck should be discouraged.

However, we wanted to make sure of a couple of things before we broadened Treasury's authority to punish such travelers. First, we ensured that due process protection was given to individuals or firms, including an agency hearing and we also ensured that there would be a couple of categories of travel that would be off limits to civil fines.

We agreed that visits by journalists, researchers, human rights, and religious organizations—visits in other words whose legal tender was information, not hard currency—were in our national interest, since they undermined rather than buttressed the Castro regime.

Now this bill omits all exceptions to civil penalties in the Trading With the Enemy Act and removes the administrative due process provision we wrote into the TWEA, undermining the fairness and credibility of civil sanctions.

I believe the Government should err on the side of liberally interpreting American's right to travel abroad, particularly when it serves our national interests. This legislation does not serve those interests and therefore I cannot support this bill.

Mr. SERRANO. Mr. Speaker, today we will be taking a final vote on the conference report for the so-called Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act. Unfortunately, our consideration of this legislation is occurring after the tragic shooting down of the two Brothers to the Rescue aircraft. Although the content of this legislation and this recent tragedy should not be linked, we are today creating a false linkage between the two. This prevents us from carefully weighing the negative impact that passage of this legislation will have on our foreign policy and on the Cuban people—who will only suffer more with the tightening of the economic embargo. Passage of this legislation today is not the correct response to this tragedy.

The United States should not permit the reckless acts of private citizens to dictate our foreign policy. Earlier concerns expressed by this administration should not be ignored simply because this tragedy occurred. The Helms-Burton legislation is an extreme bill that continues and strengthens diplomatic policies that have never been successful. The existing Cuban embargo has failed to cause any change in Cuba's government. Passage of even stricter sanctions against Cuba will not move Cuba any further toward a change in government.

This conference report retains the troubling provisions that make liable for damages in U.S. courts individuals or companies, including

those from third countries, who knowingly traffic in property that was owned by a U.S. national and was confiscated by the Cuban Government. Although a provision was included permitting the President to delay implementation of this provision for unlimited 6-month periods, in its September 1995 statement of administration policy, the administration stated that this title should be deleted. "Applying U.S. law extra-territorially in this fashion would create friction with our allies, be difficult to defend under international law, and would create a precedent that would increase litigation risks for U.S. companies abroad." This provision which the administration considered seriously objectionable is still a part of this conference report.

In fact, an article in the Washington Post on March 3, 1996, suggests that this provision, which would allow Cuban-Americans to sue foreign companies in U.S. Federal courts, creates a massive loophole that would permit the wealthiest Cuban-Americans to profit from settling lawsuits brought under this section. The article explains how these settlements may occur without the need to obtain any license or permission from the U.S. Government.

I would also like to reiterate once again, as I have so often in the past, that we have no moral grounds that would allow us to single out Cuba for this trade embargo. We continue to have trade relations with North Vietnam, China, and North Korea, countries with political systems different than ours.

The current United States policy toward Cuba does not have the support of the world community. The majority of our allies do not believe the trade embargo is an effective or wise vehicle for dealing with Cuba, and tightening the embargo will only further damage our relationships with our allies. Specifically, permitting suits against foreign companies that invest in Cuba will infringe on the sovereignty of other countries, and interfere with their trade decisions.

Finally, and most importantly, any tightening of the embargo will increase the suffering of the Cuban people. We all recognize that a terrible tragedy in the shooting of the Brothers to the Rescue aircraft has occurred, but we need to move forward in developing a constructive relationship with Cuba. Passage of this conference report will move our country's foreign policy even further in the wrong direction. We should instead vote against this bill and begin the process of building a peaceful and productive relationship with Cuba.

Mr. MANTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support for the conference report on H.R. 927, the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act.

Mr. Speaker, on February 24 Castro ordered the downing of unarmed aircraft flying over international waters, murdering all those aboard, including three United States citizens who were committed to promoting peace and freedom in Cuba. This blatant violation of international law and wanton disregard for human life only reaffirms that Castro will stop at nothing to cling to power and suppress freedom in Cuba.

All across Eastern Europe, we have witnessed the dramatic collapse of communism. The seeds of democracy are taking hold, and a people long oppressed by totalitarian rule

are awakening to the promise of freedom and self-determination. Yet just 90 miles from the shores of the greatest and oldest democracy in the world, Castro continues to rule with an iron fist.

The conference report on H.R. 927 is designed to force Castro from power by tightening economic sanctions on the Cuban Government. I commend President Clinton for expressing his strong support for this tough legislation.

It is time to stop negotiating with Castro. It is time to force him from power. There can be no just totalitarian state. The only cure for communism and totalitarianism is freedom and democracy. The Cuban people deserve no less.

Specifically, the measure would codify the existing United States trade embargo against Cuba while increasing the protection for the rights of United States nationals whose property has been illegally confiscated in Cuba. Furthermore, the bill directs the President to encourage foreign countries to restrict trade with Cuba and to work for an international embargo against the Cuban Government.

Castro's reign of terror and suppression in Cuba is nearing an end. His ruthless Communist regime is on life support. Let us pull the plug by passing this legislation.

Mr. MARTINI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to support the conference report to H.R. 927, the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act of 1995. We must stand tough on Castro.

His recent reprehensible act is a testament to his madness. On February 25, 1996, he gave orders to shoot down two Cessna planes operated by the American humanitarian group, Brothers to the Rescue. His orders were successfully carried out and four Americans were killed. These men could not have defended themselves against a hostile aggressor even if they had wanted to. Castro's ignoble action was as pathetic as it was wrong. This senseless act of violence must be condemned in the strongest possible terms. The Cuban Liberty and Solidarity Act is in fact a condemnation of the Castro regime.

We must call on the President to organize an international embargo on Cuba and we must tighten our current embargo. This bill also protects the rights of U.S. citizens and businesses by allowing them to sue parties who knowingly and intentionally traffic in confiscated U.S. property. We cannot allow Castro to infringe on the rights of U.S. citizens, or on the rights of his own people.

The most heartwrenching example of his control is the state of affairs of the people of Cuba. Their aspirations and cries for freedom and democracy remain unacknowledged and as follows, unanswered.

Cuba's liberalization is an impossibility with Castro controlling the reins. He is a despot with little to do but punish men and women who have tenaciously championed the cause for freedom through vigilant, assertive, non-violent actions. Not only has he killed four American citizens but in the process he has also ignored the will of his people. The people of Cuba do not possess the means to hold Castro responsible for his actions, so we must do what they cannot. We must hold Castro accountable for his actions.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the conference report to ac-

company H.R. 927, the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act.

The shooting down of unarmed U.S. civilian aircraft over the Florida Straits is the heinous and unforgivable act of a rouge regime that ignores international law. Such wanton disregard for human life cannot go unanswered.

Today, Congress is responding in the form of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act. The bill sends a clear signal to Cuba by strengthening the United States embargo of Cuba, authorizing assistance for democratic elements within Cuba, directing the President to prepare to support a transition to democratic government in Cuba, and increasing protection for the rights of United States nationals whose property has been illegally confiscated in Cuba.

Mr. Speaker, some have raised objections that this bill will impinge on our allies' ability to trade with Cuba and that it will only strengthen Fidel Castro's ability to retain power. I do not believe that we should reward the murderer of four American citizens by relaxing the current embargo. We should, and we will, strengthen the embargo and strangle the Castro regime.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support H.R. 927 and strike a blow for the freedom of Cuba.

Mr. FUNDERBURK. Mr. Speaker, there can be no compromise in dealing with Fidel Castro. We must make sure that the Helms-Burton Cuban liberty bill passes as soon as possible so we can tighten the embargo on Cuba. We can have no sympathy for those who would be inconvenienced because they choose to make a profit over conscience. We must penalize those who would traffic in stolen American property. If the Helms-Burton Cuban liberty bill is a violation of NAFTA as claimed by the Canadian Foreign Minister, maybe it is time for the United States to withdraw from that and any other organization that prevents the United States from pursuing its national interests.

Mr. Speaker, we must demand the Castro's Cuba abide by international law that stipulates that a national air space be set at 12 miles. We must not allow Castro's armed thugs to grossly expand their national air space to the 24th parallel. We must make the Castro regime realize that any attack on civilian aircraft outside Cuba's 12 mile borders would be met with military force. To make this point clear, we should start by flying combat air patrols well south of the 24th parallel. Maybe we can teach Castro's armed thugs the same lesson that we taught Kadafi a few years back.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, after much consideration, I find that I must vote against this bill. My decision is based primarily on my belief that this is an intrusion on the President's prerogative to conduct foreign policy. This bill restricts Presidential authority and flexibility by codifying the embargo into law. The Helms-Burton conference report contains a provision requiring the President to seek approval of both the House and Senate before changing any aspect of the current embargo. This is an unacceptable infringement on Presidential authority.

Further, this bill will interfere with the principles of free trade, exemplified by the North American Free Trade Agreement, an issue dear to my heart. Canada, Mexico, and Caribbean nations have already expressed their

concerns for this infringement of their sovereignty.

I must convey however, that I did strongly consider voting for this bill as a sign of protest against the downing of the two *Hermanos al Rescate* planes. That was an indefensible act, and I feel sadness for the people who were killed and their families. In addition, this is an emotional, and enormously important issue for my Cuban-American friends, and I have deep respect for their views, particularly BOB MENENDEZ, LINCOLN DIAZ-BALART, AND ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN.

Accordingly, my decision to vote "no" is a difficult one given the support to have always given President Clinton and the Cuban-American community.

Mr. KIM. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of the conference report to H.R. 927, the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity [Libertad] Act of 1995. The recent shoot down of two unarmed civilian planes by Cuban Air Force MiG's clearly underscores the continued hostile focus of the Castro dictatorship and the need for stronger pressure to bring it down. Castro's irresponsible and unnecessary violations of international law must be dealt with in the strongest terms possible. H.R. 927 does just that.

As a strong supporter of former-President Reagan's foreign policy creed—"peace through strength"—I am constantly surprised by the lack of vision this administration has in the foreign policy arena and how frequently American military and civilian lives are put in harm's way. The concessions given to North Korea in the agreed framework and the ill-advised involvement of United States forces in Haiti and Bosnia are just a few of the examples of foreign policy decisions with which I have serious concerns. This is not peace through strength—it's danger through appeasement. The administration's recent kowtowing to Cuba and the resulting aggression by Castro's military further underscores my concern about this administration's lack of direction.

Ironically, since the beginning of his term in office, President Clinton has attempted to weaken the U.S. embargo on Fidel Castro's Communist government. This dramatic shift in policy has turned on its head the longstanding efforts of six previous, bipartisan administration policies of standing firm against the 36-year old dictatorship in Cuba. H.R. 927 responsibly reverses President Clinton's ill-advised appeasement policy by codifying the existing embargo against Cuba. It also strengthens efforts to achieve international sanctions, provides assistance to democratic opposition and human rights groups and protects U.S. interests in illegally confiscated property. By passing H.R. 927, Congress ensures that the United States continues the longstanding "peace through strength" approach in dealing with the Castro dictatorship. This policy has proved the most reliable when facing such rogue regimes. It is for these reasons that I strongly support H.R. 927 and commend President Clinton for finally recognizing the importance of this legislation. I am only sorry that it took the lives of four innocent civilians to do so.

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, I certainly deplore the Cuban Government's decision to

shoot down unarmed civilian aircraft. It was unconscionable and outrageous. However, our Government bears some blame for failing to fulfill its obligation to keep U.S. civilian aircraft from conducting harassing raids into foreign airspace from U.S. soil. But that's not the issue here. The issue is what kind of policy will bring Cuba into the fold of democratic nations.

In this case, United States foreign policy has been hijacked by a small population of right-wing Cuban exiles in Miami. The bill before us represents a complete surrender to these extremists by the President and congressional leaders. I urge my colleagues to reject it, though I know they will not.

This bill will do nothing to encourage Cuba's transition to democracy. In fact, the opposite will be the case. By continuing and tightening the fruitless embargo against Cuba, we are strengthening the Castro regime's only remaining claim to legitimacy. The losers are the Cuban people. The winners are Castro and his henchmen—who will remain in power not only in spite of but because of the embargo—and United States politicians eager to pander to the Cuban exile vote in Florida.

The contrast between United States policy toward Cuba and our Government's stance toward the brutal and geriatric communist leaders of China is stark. Despite China's well-documented human rights abuses, its unfair trade practices and its policy of exporting dangerous arms to terrorist regimes around the world, this Congress and the President insist on giving China favored nation trade status. Chinese belligerence and intransigence is not only tolerated by our Government, but rewarded. Yet the impoverished nation of Cuba is deemed to be such a threat to our shores that the most punitive sanctions are justified.

This bill is hypocrisy and pandering at its worst. It should be rejected.

Mr. COYNE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act.

I strongly condemn Cuba and Castro's reprehensible and inexcusable actions in shooting down two unarmed American civilian aircraft recently. This was an unacceptable act that no civilized nation can condone. It was a clear and blatant violation of international law. Our hearts go out to the families and friends of the victims of this tragedy.

Nevertheless, while I abhor Cuba's action, I oppose this bill because I believe that enactment of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act is not in the United States's national interest, and that our national interest and our efforts to promote democracy and human rights in Cuba must take precedence over our anger and revulsion at this cowardly act.

The Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act of 1995 is intended to increase the economic pressure on Cuba in the belief that additional hardships imposed on the Cuban people will produce additional dissatisfaction with the Castro regime and accelerate its downfall. The problem with this reasoning is that in many ways it plays into Castro's hands by allowing him to blame the Cuban people's suffering on foreign enemies—namely, the United States. Sanctions like these provide Castro with a convenient scapegoat for the failings of his unsustainable regime.

The best way to replace Castro's dictatorship with a democratic form of self-government and a market economy is through engagement, not isolation. The United States should be engaging the Cuban people. This legislation will alienate them. It will shore up Castro by allowing him to fan the flames of Cuban nationalism against the United States. I believe that the most effective tool for fostering democracy and human rights and economic development in Cuba is exposure of the citizens of Cuba to free democratic societies. I urge my colleagues to reconsider this action and vote no on the conference report.

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, today the House is considering legislation in the wake of the recent attack by the Cuban Air Force on two unarmed civilian aircraft. This outrageous, unprovoked act resulted in the tragic loss of four American lives. I, like most Americans, believe the United States must strongly condemn this act and work to promote a democratic Cuba. Unfortunately, I do not believe that H.R. 927 will accomplish this goal.

This attack clearly illustrates the breakdown of the Cuban Government and the desperation that Fidel Castro faces in trying to hold onto power. The question we must answer is: How best to hasten the end of the Castro regime? Regrettably, the bill before us is not the answer. Isolation has not been successful in bringing down Castro. It is contrary to the policy we pursued in ending the cold war, and, indeed, it was not the course of action which resulted in the peaceful transition to democracy and market economies in Eastern Europe.

H.R. 927 will also worsen conditions in Cuba and result in greater suffering by the Cuban people who remain hostages of Castro's government. By increasing the hardships of the Cuban people, we are running the risk of increased violence in this already volatile nation, as well as the potential outflow of refugees. In addition, this legislation would allow United States citizens to sue foreign companies which traffic in property confiscated in Cuba. I believe such a provision will swamp already overburdened U.S. courts, and I submit for the record an article from the Washington Post which further details the adverse effects of this measure.

The Cuban Government's action which resulted in the deaths of United States citizens cannot be justified, and I believe it is necessary to put pressure on the Cuban Government to recognize this serious breach of international law, to pay reparations, and to punish those responsible for this heinous act. The President took the necessary initial steps in response. However, H.R. 927 is contrary to our ultimate foreign policy goals. By tightening the embargo, this legislation will only succeed in further isolating the Cuban people, raising tensions, and endangering a peaceful transition to democracy. I voted against the bill last September, I will do so again today. I urge my colleagues to oppose H.R. 927.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 3, 1996]
THE GREAT CUBAN EMBARGO SCAM—A LITTLE-
KNOWN LOOPHOLE WILL ALLOW THE RICHEST
EXILES TO CASH IN

(By Louis F. Desloge)

Virtually everyone agrees that President Clinton should retaliate forcefully against

Cuba's tragic and murderous downing of two civilian aircraft last weekend. But the least effective and most counterproductive punishment is Clinton's acquiescence to the Helms-Burton bill to tighten the U.S. embargo of Cuba. This legislation, which the White House endorsed last week, albeit with reservations, will only play into Castro's hands by creating an expansive loophole for property claimants, especially wealthy Cuban Americans, to circumvent the embargo.

Jesse Helms and Dan Burton, conservatives whom I admire, are no doubt sincere in their motivation to subvert Castro's rule by applying economic pressure on his regime. However, they may very well achieve just the opposite of what they seek by buttressing, not undermining, Castro's support at home and weakening, not strengthening, the embargo's prohibition on trade with Cuba.

The Helms-Burton bill is a slick stratagem. Its stated purpose is to tighten the embargo by allowing Cuban Americans to have the unprecedented right to sue, in U.S. federal courts, foreign companies doing business on land once owned by these exiles. The idea is to discourage foreign business investment in Cuba, thus undermining the island's financial recovery which, the bill's supporters naively hope, will result in a collapse of the Castro regime. The bill's practical consequences are a different story.

A little-noticed provision in the Helms-Burton measure will enable a small group of Cuban Americans to profit from the economic activity occurring in Cuba.

To understand this provision, one must first know who helped write it. As the Baltimore Sun reported last May, the bill was drafted with the advice of Nick Gutierrez, an attorney who represents the National Association of Sugar Mill Owners of Cuba and the Cuban Association for the Tobacco Industry. Gutierrez acknowledges his involvement, as does Ignacio Sanchez, an attorney whose firm represents the Bacardi rum company. Sanchez told the Sun that he worked on the bill in his capacity as a member of the American Bar Association's Cuban Property Rights Task Force and not as a representative of the rum company.

It is not hard to surmise what these former sugar, tobacco and rum interests will do if and when the law takes effect; sue their competitors who are now doing business in Cuba.

Gutierrez told the Miami Herald last fall as saying that he (and his clients) are eyeing a Kentucky subsidiary of British-American Tobacco (B.A.T.) that produces Lucky Strike cigarettes. B.A.T. has a Cuban joint venture with the Brazilian firm Souza Cruz to produce tobacco on land confiscated from his clients, Gutierrez claims.

Bacardi would be able to sue Pernod Ricard, the French spirits distributor, currently marketing Havana Club rum worldwide. Bacardi claims that Pernod Ricard's rum is being produced in the old Bacardi distillery in the city of Santiago de Cuba.

Here is how this vexatious scheme will work if Helms-Burton becomes law. The former landowner of a tobacco farm files a suit in federal court against British-American Tobacco and seeks damages. If both sides want to avoid prolonged litigation they can reach an out-of-court settlement whereby the former tobacco grower can now share in the profits of the ongoing B.A.T.-Brazilian joint venture in Cuba. Likewise, Bacardi could reach a settlement to get a share of Pernod Ricard's profits from sales of Havana Club internationally.

These agreements do not need the blessing of the U.S. Government. This is the million

dollar loophole in Helms-Burton. The bill states: "an action [lawsuit] . . . may be brought and may be settled, and a judgment rendered in such action may be enforced, without the necessity of obtaining any license or permission from any agency of the United States."

What will be the practical result? Foreign companies like Pernod Ricard and British-American Tobacco are unlikely to abandon viable operations in Cuba because of a lawsuit. More likely, these foreign businessmen will agree, reluctantly, to pay off Cuban exiles suing under Helms-Burton. Given the choice of forfeiting millions of dollars invested in Cuba or their financial interests in the United States, the practical business solution might be to give the exiles a cut of the action. Far better to have 90 percent of something than 100 percent of nothing, these businessmen will reason. Allowing Cuban Americans a share of their profits will just be factored in as another cost of doing business.

Indeed, Helms-Burton gives the Cuban exile community a strong financial stake in Castro's Cuba. If the foreign businesses simply withdrew in the face of Helms-Burton, the exiled tobacco, sugar and rum interests would get nothing. But if British-American Tobacco or Pernod Ricard or any other foreign firm now doing business with the Castro regime offers an out-of-court settlement to Cuban American exiles, who is going to turn them down? Given the option, at least some people are going to choose personal enrichment over the principle of not doing business with Fidel. After all, Fidel has been in power for 37 years, and the exiles are not getting any younger.

The Clinton White House is not unaware of the scam at the heart of the bill. Before the shooting down of the plane, the President had objected to the provisions allowing U.S. nationals to sue companies doing business in Cuba. During last week's conference with Congress, the President's men surrendered and asked for a face-saving compromise: a provision giving the President the right to block such deals later on if they do not advance the cause of democracy in Cuba. But how likely is Clinton to block Cuban Americans in Florida, a key election state, from suing Castro's foreign collaborators later in the final months of an election year? Not very.

The bottom line is that Clinton, in the name of getting tough with Castro, has endorsed a bill that allows the embargo to be evaded and protects Cuban Americans who want to legally cut deals to exploit their former properties in Cuba while the rest of the American business community must watch from the sidelines.

In fact, the legislation could encourage a massive influx of new foreign investment in Cuba. Armed with the extortionist powers conferred by the legislation, former property holders could shop around the world for prospective investors in Cuba and offer them a full release on their property claim in exchange for a "sweetheart" lawsuit settlement entitling them to a piece of the economic action. Thus, the embargo is legally bypassed and everyone laughs all the way to the bank.

Actually, not everyone would benefit. The Clinton-endorsed version of Helms-Burton only exempts the wealthiest cabal of Cuba's former elites from the embargo's restraints. The bill will only allow those whose former property is worth a minimum value of \$50,000 (sans interest) to file suits. And you had to be very rich to have owned anything of that

value in Cuba in 1959. If you were a Cuban butcher, baker or candlestick maker, too bad. This bill is not for you.

What could be more useful to Castro in his efforts to shore up his standing with the Cuban people? The spectacle of the U.S. Congress kowtowing to these Batista-era plantation owners and distillers provides Fidel his most effective propaganda weapon since the Bay of Pigs debacle. Castro surely knows that the overwhelming majority of the Cuban people—60 percent of whom were born after 1959—would deeply resent what can be characterized, not unfairly, as an attempt to confiscate their properties and revert control over Cuba's economy to people who symbolize the corrupt rule of the 1950s. Rather than undermining Castro's rule, this bill would drive the people into his camp.

Where is the logic in denying the vast majority of the American people the right to become economically engaged in Cuba if it is extended to only a select, wealthy few? Is the concept of "equal protection under the law" served if non-Cuban Americans are now relegated to the status of second-class citizens? Or is the real intent of this bill to allow rich Cuban exiles the opportunity to get a jump start and thereby head off the "gringo" business invasion certain to follow the demise of the embargo and the inevitable passing of Castro.

Let us put an end to this special interest subterfuge. Whatever obligation the United States had to my fellow Cuban Americans has been more than fulfilled by providing us safe haven and the opportunity to prosper and flourish in a free society. Providing us, once again, another special exemption which makes a mockery of the American Constitution, laws and courts, not to mention making a farce of U.S.-Cuba policy, is an insult to both the American and Cuban people.

If we are going to lift the embargo for a few wealthy exiles then, fine, let us lift it for all Americans. To be fair and consistent, why not liberate the entire American community to bring the full weight of its influence to bear upon Cuban people? Implementing an aggressive engagement policy to transmit our values to the Cuban people and to accelerate the burgeoning process of reform occurring on the island has a far better chance of ending Castro's rule than the machinations of Helms-Burton.

THE SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. EWING). Without objection, the previous question is ordered.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the conference report.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 336, nays 86, answered "present" 1, not voting 9, as follows:

[Roll No. 47]

YEAS—336

Ackerman	English	Lazio
Allard	Ensign	Leach
Andrews	Everett	Levin
Archer	Ewing	Lewis (CA)
Armey	Fawell	Lewis (KY)
Bachus	Fazio	Lightfoot
Baessler	Fields (LA)	Linder
Baker (CA)	Fields (TX)	Lipinski
Baker (LA)	Filner	Livingston
Baldacci	Flanagan	LoBiondo
Ballenger	Foley	Longley
Barcia	Forbes	Lucas
Barr	Ford	Luther
Barrett (NE)	Fowler	Maloney
Bartlett	Fox	Manton
Barton	Franks (CT)	Manzullo
Bass	Franks (NJ)	Martinez
Bateman	Frelinghuysen	Martini
Bentsen	Frisa	Mascara
Bereuter	Frost	Matsui
Bevill	Funderburk	McCollum
Bilbray	Galleghy	McCrery
Bilirakis	Ganske	McDade
Bishop	Gekas	McHugh
Bliley	Gephardt	McInnis
Blute	Geren	McIntosh
Boehlert	Gilchrest	McKeon
Boehner	Gillmor	McNulty
Bonilla	Gilman	Meehan
Bono	Gingrich	Meek
Borski	Gonzalez	Menendez
Brewster	Goodlatte	Metcalfe
Browder	Goodling	Meyers
Brown (FL)	Gordon	Mica
Brown (OH)	Goss	Miller (FL)
Brownback	Graham	Mollinari
Bryant (TN)	Green	Mollohan
Bunn	Greenwood	Montgomery
Bunning	Gunderson	Moorhead
Burr	Gutierrez	Murtha
Burton	Gutknecht	Myers
Buyer	Hall (TX)	Myrick
Callahan	Hancock	Neal
Calvert	Hansen	Nethercutt
Camp	Hastert	Neumann
Canady	Hastings (FL)	Ney
Cardin	Hastings (WA)	Norwood
Castle	Hayes	Nussle
Chabot	Hayworth	Ortiz
Chambliss	Hefley	Orton
Chenoweth	Hefner	Oxley
Chrysler	Heineman	Packard
Clement	Herger	Pallone
Clinger	Hilleary	Parker
Clyburn	Hilliard	Paxon
Coble	Hobson	Peterson (FL)
Coburn	Hoekstra	Peterson (MN)
Coleman	Hoke	Petri
Collins (GA)	Holden	Pickett
Combest	Horn	Pombo
Condit	Hoyer	Pomeroy
Cooley	Hunter	Porter
Costello	Hutchinson	Portman
Cox	Hyde	Poshard
Cramer	Inglis	Pryce
Crane	Istook	Quillen
Crapo	Jackson-Lee	Quinn
Creameans	(TX)	Radanovich
Cubin	Jacobs	Rahall
Cunningham	Jefferson	Ramstad
Danner	Johnson (SD)	Regula
Davis	Johnson, Sam	Riggs
de la Garza	Jones	Rivers
Deal	Kanjorski	Roberts
DeLay	Kaptur	Roemer
Deutsch	Kasich	Rogers
Diaz-Balart	Kelly	Rohrabacher
Dickey	Kennedy (RI)	Ros-Lehtinen
Dicks	Kennelly	Rose
Dingell	Kildee	Roth
Doggett	Kim	Roukema
Doolittle	King	Royce
Dornan	Kingston	Salmon
Doyle	Klink	Sanford
Dreier	Klug	Saxton
Duncan	Knollenberg	Scarborough
Dunn	Kolbe	Schaefer
Durbin	LaHood	Schiff
Edwards	Lantos	Schumer
Ehlers	Largent	Scott
Ehrlich	Latham	Seastrand
Emerson	LaTourette	Sensenbrenner
Engel	Laughlin	Shadegg

Shaw	Tanner	Walker
Shays	Tate	Walsh
Shuster	Tauzin	Wamp
Sisisky	Taylor (MS)	Ward
Skeen	Taylor (NC)	Watts (OK)
Skelton	Tejeda	Weldon (FL)
Smith (MI)	Thomas	Weldon (PA)
Smith (NJ)	Thompson	Weller
Smith (TX)	Thornberry	White
Smith (WA)	Thornton	Whitfield
Solomon	Thurman	Wicker
Souder	Tiahrt	Wilson
Spence	Torkildsen	Wise
Spratt	Torricelli	Wolf
Stearns	Trafigant	Young (AK)
Stenholm	Upton	Young (FL)
Stockman	Visclosky	Zeliff
Stump	Volkmer	Zimmer
Stupak	Vucanovich	
Talent	Waldholtz	

NAYS—86

Abercrombie	Harman	Pastor
Barrett (WI)	Hinchey	Payne (NJ)
Becerra	Hostettler	Payne (VA)
Bellenson	Houghton	Pelosi
Berman	Jackson (IL)	Rangel
Bonior	Johnson (CT)	Reed
Boucher	Johnson, E. B.	Richardson
Brown (CA)	Johnston	Royal-Allard
Campbell	Kennedy (MA)	Rush
Clay	Kleczka	Sabo
Conyers	LaFalce	Sanders
Coyne	Lewis (GA)	Sawyer
DeFazio	Lincoln	Schroeder
DeLauro	Lofgren	Serrano
Dellums	Lowe	Skaggs
Dixon	Markey	Stark
Dooley	McDermott	Studds
Eshoo	McHale	Torres
Evans	McKinney	Towns
Farr	Miller (CA)	Velazquez
Fattah	Minge	Vento
Flake	Mink	Waters
Foglietta	Moakley	Watt (NC)
Frank (MA)	Moran	Waxman
Furse	Morella	Williams
Gejdenson	Nadler	Woolsey
Gibbons	Oberstar	Wynn
Hall (OH)	Obey	Yates
Hamilton	Olver	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

Owens

NOT VOTING—9

Bryant (TX)	Clayton	McCarthy
Chapman	Collins (IL)	Slaughter
Christensen	Collins (MI)	Stokes

□ 1513

Mr. WYNN and Ms. FURSE changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

Ms. RIVERS changed her vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the conference report was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 47 on H.R. 927 I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "no."

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mrs. COLLINS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, this afternoon, March 6, 1996, I was unavoidably absent for rollcall vote 47, on final passage of H.R. 927, the Cuban Liberty Act conference report, because I had to go to my ophthalmologist for an emergency procedure.

Had I been present, I would have voted "no."

Mr. CHRISTENSEN. Mr. Speaker, due to a family emergency back in Nebraska, I was not present for three rollcall votes. Had I been present, I would have voted: rollcall vote No. 45, "yes;" rollcall vote No. 46, "yes;" and rollcall vote No. 47, "yes."

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I was unable to be present for rollcall vote No. 47 taken on March 6, 1996. Had I been present, I would have voted "no."

□ 1515

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous material on the conference report just adopted.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. EWING). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING SPECIAL AUTHORITIES TO COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT REFORM AND OVERSIGHT TO OBTAIN TESTIMONY ON THE WHITE HOUSE TRAVEL OFFICE MATTER

Mrs. WALDHOLTZ, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 104-472) on the resolution (H. Res. 369) to provide to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight special authorities to obtain testimony for purposes of investigation and study of the White House Travel Office matter, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. EVERETT). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, and under a previous order of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

WE ARE NOT ADDRESSING THE ISSUES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Colorado [Mrs. SCHROEDER] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, I just came to the floor because my calendar says it is March 6.

My whole problem is I cannot figure out when we are going to get our work done.

It seems to me, if it is March 6, that means we are almost halfway through this fiscal year, we still have four bills

that have not been signed, we still have the debt ceiling issue, we still have the fact that we can shut Government down at any moment, and what we are hearing from the primaries out there, where the people are really being able to speak, is they think we have missed the whole boat, that this issue is really about the average American family and how they keep the middle-class American working standard.

So, Mr. Speaker, let us talk about that, what that is and how we have not done anything for that.

Mr. Speaker, the American people feel we have really missed the boat, we have missed the core challenge, and that is helping America's working families, the ones who work, the ones who get up every morning, the ones who are struggling like mad, the ones who feel like one of those hamsters in a wheel where they run faster and faster every year, their tongues are hanging out, and yet they feel they do not get out of the bottom of that wheel.

Now one of the things that we have not done that would help, we are going to see a lot of photo ops with these people, but these people really do not care about photo ops. They really care about some policy that would help them. Let us start with the minimum wage.

The minimum wage is the lowest it has been in 40 years. When I went to college, I was able to work my way through college. College tuition has gone way, way up, and the minimum wage has stayed way down here. It is almost impossible for a young person today to work their way through college and finish before they are 80 years old. So the minimum wage is terribly important to try and help people to be able to support themselves better.

Let us look at medical care. Medical care is very critical. We have got the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill moving in the Senate, but we do not see it moving over here. I am the proud cosponsor. I hope many more people become cosponsors. But that, too, helps working families to try and hold that pillar of medical care underneath them and their families as they feel it crumbling.

There is another whole area; that is student loans. People would like to see that pillar be held up because everyone knows their young folks are only going to go as far as their education takes them, and getting an education is terribly costly, especially in this day and age. So doing anything to the student loans is very unfair, and it makes it topple.

When you look at Medicare and Medicaid, those are two other areas that really harm the average working family because especially if the average working family has a child that is handicapped or whatever, they need to be depending on Medicaid to make up the difference. They may have elderly parents who desperately need Medi-

care, and without Medicare and Medicaid then the families got to dig deeper in their pockets to make this all work.

You know, part of the stress on these young families and part of their frustrations with this body is rather than having pictures they would like a minimum wage increase, they would like an insurance bill, they would like the guarantee that their pensions are not going to be played with. Several times this year we have seen bills saying that corporations could do with their pensions what Orange County, CA, did with their funds. That does not make you sleep very well at night. They want to be sure education is guaranteed in the future, and they want to know there is a future.

I think we really need to roll up our shirtsleeves and get to work here. I mean here we are. Yesterday we were out early; here we are today, we are out early. I do not know what we are doing. We have not gotten the budget done, we have not gotten our work done, and we are not addressing the issues that voters all over America, in State after State as these primaries roll through, say are front and center. They are saying please listen to us. We are the ones that support the Government; why does the Government not support the policies we want?

You know we are going to lose their support of the Government. That is one of the things that feeds the cynicism so much. We will lose their support of the Government if we are not listening to them and providing those policies.

So I just want to say I am sure where everybody lives there will soon be a photo op near them with politicians running around trying to have pictures taken with little kids, with working people, in front of a hospital deploring hospital costs, whatever. But when you see that photo op, think about how does it translate into policy, how does that person vote, what do they cosponsor? That is the reality. The picture is not the reality, the record is the reality, and I think working men and women are going to be looking for those records, Mr. Speaker.

□ 1530

THE GOVERNMENTS OF SAUDI ARABIA, KUWAIT, JAPAN, AND EUROPE OWE THE UNITED STATES A RESPONSE

THE SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. EVERETT). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. GEJDENSON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, the tragedies in Israel over the last several weeks are something that all of us have to pay close attention to. I am proud that the American Government and President Clinton have led the effort to try to build a real and lasting

peace in the Middle East. But many of our friends in countries who have benefited from America's generosity and America's courage have not only not helped us in this struggle for peace, but have actually supported the opponents of peace in the Middle East.

Mr. Speaker, today I will be sending letters to the Governments of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait to ask them what they are doing to try to stop the attacks on innocent Israeli civilians by Hamas. I will be sending the same letter, virtually, to the Governments of France, England, Germany, and Japan. Their continuing trade with Iran, dealing with Iran as if it was one of the civilized nations of the world, continues to provide for them the wherewithal to continue their support for the terrorists in Hamas.

In Jordan and Egypt we see different kinds of governments. They, along with the Israelis and the leaders of the PLO, Mr. Arafat and others, have struggled to build a peace in a region of the world that has seldom seen peace. We should also remember and applaud their efforts: The courage of King Hussein, the leadership and the courage of President Mubarak and his predecessor, Anwar Sadat.

In Israel, the Israelis have lost so much in their leadership, in their citizenry, in the wars and terrorism. Their courage in continuing in this peace process is truly remarkable. But the question has to be asked, the Saudis and Kuwaitis are regulars in this capital asking for assistance and protection, but what have they done to assist the peace process? What have the Saudis and Kuwaitis done to try to stop Hamas and its violence on innocent civilians?

These governments, these feudalistic governments, cannot buy their security by financing the fundamentalists who will attack women and children with bombs in schools and marketplaces and bus stops. The governments of the Western World, France, England, Germany, and Japan, they cannot hold their head high in the international community while they continue to do business with Iran, the country that is singly most responsible for the terrorism in the Middle East.

Syria wants to be included in the family of nations. It needs to end its support for Hamas, and the operation of Hamas within its borders. We as Americans are happy to lead. We are happy to take on more than our share of responsibility. But again, I cannot emphasize enough, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait are there today solely because of American courage, solely because of American action, and solely because of American guarantees for their freedom.

The Saudis and the Kuwaitis do nothing to stop the financing of this terrorist organization. Their governments need to respond with actions that show

they can be trusted as friends and allies, not just as those who need our assistance. France, England, Germany, and Japan want to be leaders of the world. They want to be the kind of partners that America looks for in running this world, in leading the world toward a better place for all the people of the world. They continue to provide the financial support for Iran that enables Iran to support and subsidize terrorism globally.

We in America must demand from these countries some action. We must demand more than just rhetoric and rhetorical responses to this kind of savagery. The Government of Saudi Arabia and the Government of Kuwait owe the Americans a response. They owe the world a response, the world that turned to their rescue to end the terrorism of Hamas in the Middle East.

France, England, Germany, and Japan are wealthy enough nations that they could join with us in isolating the Government of Iran until they are ready to act like a civilized and responsible nation. Nations do not kill children. Nations do not finance an organization that places bombs in civilian areas. We need to lead and we need these countries to join us. I will await their responses.

RUBY RIDGE: JUSTICE UNSERVED

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Idaho [Mrs. CHENOWETH] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, as we all know, the issue of values seems to be paramount in everybody's mind, values with regard to those held dear by our country, by individuals, and by families. But values really come from where we place the value on human life and how we appropriate the protection of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness from government. Today those values seem to be misappropriated, so I am going to speak to you today, Mr. Speaker, with regard to an incident that occurred in my district, and the serving up by the Government of an award for that incident.

Mr. Speaker, I come to the floor today to publicly address a growing concern that I am hearing more and more of from my constituents, and from people all around the country—the continuing misappropriation of values by our Federal Government. I am not talking necessarily about the values, as typically described by the media, but the most basic value of how we as a government regard the individual's ability to safely live his life in an atmosphere of freedom and liberty, with mutual respect as each individual peaceably pursues happiness.

My most recent concern arises out of what appears to another poor decision made by a Federal law enforcement agency in the wake of what has come

to be known the tragedy at Ruby Ridge, ID. I am talking about the recent issuing of the highest awards of valor to Federal marshals involved in a shootout on August 21, 1992 that ended up with the deaths of 14-year-old Sammy Weaver, and deputy marshal Bill Degan.

Mr. Speaker, I find it incomprehensible that after years of investigations by both Congress and the Justice Department about significant questions regarding the conduct of Federal agents involved in the Ruby Ridge disaster, the U.S. Marshals Service has chosen instead to hand out awards rather than sort out their mistakes and punish wrongdoing to ensure that such deadly mishaps don't happen again.

Mr. Speaker, I attended much of the hearing in the Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology, and Government Information that was chaired by Senator SPECTER. I listened very attentively to the testimony of Randy Weaver, and the U.S. marshals on their take of the events leading up to that fateful day of August 21, 1992. The committee listened to Randy's description of how agents from the U.S. Federal Marshals Service for a 16-month period executed an extensive surveillance of his home that included hundreds of hours of filming the everyday proceedings of his family with satellite powered cameras, setting up command centers in the homes of neighbors, and sending many undercover agents posing as supporters to the Weaver home.

In addition, the U.S. Marshal's Service initiated military reconnaissance like missions to determine what would be the best way to invade the Weaver home. U.S. marshals on one of these missions excited the family dog by throwing rocks at it.

The committee listened to Randy's agonizing unscripted depiction of how he made the most regrettable decision of his life when he sent his 14-year-old son Sammy down the road with a rifle to see what the dog was barking at—and how those agents shot a young boy's dog at his feet, and how a Federal marshal, dressed in a terrifying paramilitary uniform, jumped out of the bushes and yelled "Halt"—and how these events led to a gun battle that ended with the tragic death of Federal Marshal Degan, and of the young boy Sammy—shot in the arm and in the back—as he ran frantically up the road yelling "I'm coming home Dad!" Randy and his wife Vicki, no longer caring if they were fired at, went down the hill to retrieve the small body of their son.

While a Justice Department investigation did find evidence that U.S. marshal Larry Cooper fired the shot that killed 14-year-old Sammy Weaver, the report failed to determine who actually fired the first shot. Kevin Harris, a friend of the Weavers, who was involved in the gunfight, testified before the committee that U.S. marshal

Arthur Roderick fired the first shot, which killed Weaver's dog. The marshals claimed that Harris fired the first shot, which mortally wounded U.S. deputy marshal Bill Degan.

Mr. Speaker, the Senate committee determined in their report that Harris' testimony was more plausible because Dean had fired seven rounds before he died. For the marshals' testimony to be true, Degan would have had to fire all seven shots after he was mortally wounded. The Senate committee also found it hard to understand why, if Kevin Harris had actually fired the first shot, the other marshals had not shot him dead in his tracks for killing Degan.

Mr. Speaker, what was even more disconcerting was hearing U.S. marshals Roderick and Cooper propose during the Senate hearing that Randy Weaver was responsible for shooting his own son. This suggestion contradicts all of the facts and evidence which point to Cooper as being the only one who could have shot Sammy. Even the Government's position during the July 1993 trial was that Cooper had shot Sammy Weaver. The committee has actually retained several experts to study the matter further.

Mr. Speaker, at the same time there is an ongoing investigation into their sworn testimonies regarding their role at Ruby Ridge, Roderick and Cooper were among the five marshals honored last week.

Mr. Speaker, in addition, several places in the Justice Department report deal with the possibility of a Government cover-up. After the gunfight, the surviving marshals were taken away to recuperate. The authors of the report stated that:

We question the wisdom of keeping the marshals together for several hours while awaiting interviews with the FBI. Isolating them in that manner created the appearance and generated allegations that they were fabricating stories and colluding to cover-up the true circumstances of the shootings.

Those are the Justice Department's words, not mine.

But the Marshals Service does not appear concerned with answering the Justice Department's concerns or learning from this tragedy. Marshals Service Director Eduardo Gonzalez said when asked why the service waited so long after the siege to announce the awards that he "didn't think it was appropriate" to hold such a ceremony while the Senate was holding formal hearings into the incident. This tells me that the director blatantly overlooked the fact the Senate, like the Justice Department, found fault with the actions of at least two of the marshals he honored.

The bottom line is, Randy Weaver faced his accusers, stood trial, and answered for the only crime he was convicted of: failure to appear in court. While the Justice Department and Congress determined through extensive investigations that all the agencies involved were guilty of some level of wrongdoing at Ruby Ridge, precious little has been done to ensure such massive errors in judgment do not occur again.

Mr. Speaker, how our Government has acted with regard to the tragedy at Ruby Ridge, and in other similar instances has had, and will continually have significant ramifications on how our people view our Government, and how Federal law enforcement will respond to the constitutional rights of citizens in the future.

Mr. Speaker, the issue of how our Government is mistreating its citizens while ignoring the effects of its own unjust actions is very much on the minds of millions of Americans. They are asking how can it be possible that people such as John Poszgai, a Hungarian freedom fighter who escaped with his life and settled in Pennsylvania, can end up being sentenced to serve 6 years in a Federal penitentiary because his cleaning up of an old dump was considered a crime because it filled in a wetland. They are wondering just where our Government is placing its values when it gives the highest commendation possible to an individual for shooting a child in the back as he is running to the comforting arms of his father.

CUTS IN EDUCATION PROGRAMS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mrs. CLAYTON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, we talk much about education, but we do not do very much. Consider these facts. In 1949, for every \$10 the Federal Government spent, \$1 was spent for education. For every \$10 in 1949 that we spent for education, \$1 was spent for education. Now, today, for every \$10 that the Federal Government spends, a little more than 1 dime—from 1949, from \$1 we have moved to 1 dime—is spent for education.

Where are our priorities in education? In 1949 America led the world in educational achievement. Today America trails nations like Europe and Asia. We are behind those nations now, perhaps because we failed to heed the words of T.S. Eliot then. Eliot said in 1935, "Time present and time past are both perhaps present in time future, and time future is contained in time past." Let me repeat those profound words of Eliot's. "Time present and time past are both perhaps present in time future, and time future is contained in time past."

What did Eliot mean by that statement? Let us examine the statement in the context of education. It is inconsistent to talk about building the future while tearing down the present. Yet, Members in this House seem ready to abandon education by making the largest cut in American history, cuts amounting to one-third of education spending, cuts that are three times as much as other cuts in their discretionary budget, cuts with overall funding for the Department of Education likely to be reduced by 25 percent.

In essence, for time present, in this blind march, blind march to a balanced

budget, we want us to ignore time past. But they are ignoring, as Eliot points out, both times, present time and past, and also they are ignoring our future. More importantly, they are ignoring Eliot's conclusion that time future is certainly contained in time past.

If we truly want to preserve the future, we must, we must, first, not forget the past; and second, take care of the present. That is what Eliot meant. But we forget the past when we disregard how much of our budget we spent to make us a world power in education: 10 percent in 1949, and now only 1.4 percent today. And we do not take care in the present when we are preparing to further slice education so deeply. We will also interfere with the future of this Nation's prosperity.

Instead of cutting the education budget with regard to the impact of those cuts, I would urge my colleagues to go out from the comfort of these halls and visit American schools. Go see how those schools are. Many of them are in disrepair. I have students visiting me who have just left out of the gallery who are in private schools, and many of them have found that our public schools do not give them the opportunity. We are not investing in our education. Visit any of those schools in your district and see if you do not see a need that we are failing to assist our communities in meeting.

What will be the impact of these massive education cuts on the future of education for our young people? More importantly, what will be the future of this country if we continue to not invest in education? What will these working families do if their children are not educated?

We say we believe in families, yet we do not give them the very tools they need. How will these students learn when even more teachers are terminated under the pressures of these severe cuts? Already schools are receiving pink slips because they do not know what their budgets will be. How can they plan under the circumstances of this continued resolution?

We talk about restoring family values. We talk about helping young people. Yet, our actions are inconsistent with what our words are. Recent national polls show that Americans overwhelmingly support education and believe it should be the top priority of this country.

The American people agree with Eliot. Instead of a big tax cut for the wealthy, we should put more money in education for our children and for this Nation's prosperity. We must heed the words of Eliot, as true today as they were in 1935, and understand that the present and past shape the future. There can be no bright future without a brilliant past and a clear present.

Mr. Speaker, we must stop these education cuts and make sure that we secure America's future and our children's prosperity.

□ 1545

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS IMPLEMENTING IMPARTIALITY IN REVIEW OF COMPLAINTS AGAINST JUDGES AND REASONABLE ATTORNEY'S FEES IN CAPITAL CASES

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LATOURETTE). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BRYANT] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BRYANT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in order to explain two bills I introduced today and ask my colleagues for their support of this legislation.

Both bills relate to judicial procedure and are intended to help restore the public's confidence in that branch of our Federal Government. Today, when citizens distrust their government to the degree that we are seeing, it is imperative that we take reasonable steps to promote public confidence in our form of Government that is set forth in the Constitution.

We must always remember that we do not legislate in a vacuum. The laws we pass have consequences. Our Government processes have consequences. At this very time, the country needs legislation that has positive consequences with respect to the long-term health of our Republic.

In that regard, I would like to explain my bills. The first bill deals with the handling of ethical complaints filed against Federal judges. The complaint process currently works like this: The ethical complaint is made in writing to the circuit court clerk, and this complaint is accompanied by a brief statement of the facts behind the complaint. Alternatively, the chief justice of the circuit may also initiate a complaint if he is aware of a set of facts that warrant review.

The clerk gives the complaint to the chief judge of the circuit, and this chief judge reviews the complaint and enters a dismissal or refers it to a special committee of judges from within that same circuit. In other words, the complaint is completely adjudicated within the circuit of the judge subject to that particular complaint.

While most of the complaints filed against Federal judges are frivolous, the process itself, the procedure, should not give the appearance of a lack of impartiality or lack of fairness, or an appearance of possible bias, or at worst, a possible biased review. That is, these complaints against a judge are now reviewed by his close colleagues. They all serve together in the same circuit, some in the same district. They work together professionally, they meet at conferences, and interact on a personal and social basis.

Human nature leads to the likelihood of a less than dispassionate review in this type of situation. The situation at

a minimum presents an appearance of partiality. Couple that appearance with the loss of public confidence in our Government institutions that we are seeing, and we have a crisis in the making.

The bill I am introducing will remedy this situation whereby judges within the same circuit review ethical complaints filed against one of their fellow judges. My intent is to introduce a greater degree of impartiality and fairness to this process. My legislation will have the clerk of the circuit in which a complaint originates automatically forward that complaint to another circuit for adjudication.

This legislation builds on the current complaint review process. It calls for the creation of a method by which complaints received against judges and magistrates within one circuit are sent to another circuit for review.

The second bill pertains to the amount paid to lawyers and lawyers' fees and expenses that a Federal judge may award in a capital case, a Federal death case, if you will. Currently title 18, United States Code allows compensation at a rate of \$60 per hour for court time and \$40 for out-of-court time to be paid to lawyers that are appointed to handle Federal criminal cases. These are standard fees. I note that title 18 provides a means for raising compensation levels to a higher limit than what I have just described. This process has not been used yet.

In capital cases, again death penalty cases, judges may go outside this range of \$40 to \$60 per hour and set even higher rates, at their complete discretion. Under our code, if it involves a death penalty case, the Federal judges can set this compensation to be whatever they deem is reasonably necessary. In other words, again complete discretion on the part of that judge.

Now I understand the need to pay people for their time rendered, for their services given, but these payments that are made in these situations are being made at taxpayer expense. In certain habeas cases, certain death penalty cases in my home State of Tennessee, I am aware of a Federal judge awarding the lawyer fees of up to \$250 an hour. Not many Tennessee lawyers command \$250 an hour, much less a court-appointed lawyer in a criminal case.

My bill would set lawyers' compensation rates under title 21 in the recommended range of \$75 to \$125 across the Nation, and thereby stop the judges from awarding huge amounts, far in excess of the going rate in that particular marketplace. Furthermore, my legislation would require that these amounts paid in attorneys' fees and expenses would be publicly disclosed for all of us to see.

I hope that my colleagues can support these two bills. I think it is time we move toward restoring the public's

confidence in the judiciary. We can move in that direction by implementing impartially in the review of complaints filed against Federal judges, and by having reasonable attorneys' fees that are responsible to the taxpayer, who ultimately gets the bill.

MICA EXPRESSES OUTRAGE AT OUT-OF-CONTROL EPA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. MICA] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MICA. Mr. Speaker, I come before the House this afternoon really in a sense of outrage about our out-of-control Environmental Protection Agency. We have heard EPA talking about how the new majority and Members of Congress on both sides of the aisle were going to gut their budget and hurt the environment and do away with any regulations. That, Mr. Speaker, is all bunk.

We have seen EPA use public resources in the past to continue their mission of misinformation of untruths and distortions. Today I received a copy of EPA Watch dated January 31, 1996. This, Mr. Speaker, really takes the cake. It says, "EPA Enlists PTA To Battle Congress Over Budget Cuts."

This story tells how the EPA's Office of Enforcement and Compliance has a memo dated January 19 that states that their staff, from no fewer than 11 offices, are working in this mission of lies and distortion and now trying to drag the children, parents and teachers of this Nation into this campaign against much-needed reform.

First of all, let me tell the parents and teachers and my colleagues that EPA was a Republican idea. It started in 1972. It was an idea to do a better job in cleaning up the environment. It was a Republican proposal to set some national standards and we have done that. We have begun to clean up. We have had 20 some years of experience and we have seen where mistakes have been made and we need to draw on that.

When President Clinton came into office in 1993, in January, and I quote from the New York Times, it said, "in January, mayors from 114 cities and 49 States opened a campaign by sending the President a letter urging the White House to focus on how environmental policymaking had, in their view, gone awry."

That is what started the debate. The cities, the counties, the special districts, the Governors, the State associations came to us and said, "Some of what you're doing, some of what you're imposing makes no sense, it's a great cost on us, and we pass it on to the taxpayer in higher, unwarranted costs in many cases." So they gave us the responsibility of trying to make some sense out of this.

Mr. Speaker, I served on the committee that conducted oversight of EPA from 1992-94. What I saw was a horror story and the children and the parents and teachers should know, not just the misinformation that they are being fed by this compliance office to lobby Congress for more money but they should know what is really going on.

Let me cite, for example, a memo dated March 31, 1993, from the inspector general for audit of that agency. He is talking about the Environmental Research Laboratory, one of the operations of EPA. He said for over a period of up to 7 years the audit concluded that ERLA management had avoided or circumvented laws, regulations, and agency procedures in the award and funding of certain contracts and had misused or abused the use of contracts, and it goes on and on and on about the misuse.

Mr. Speaker, this is how taxpayer dollars are being expanded. When I served on the committee, we looked at Superfund, a multibillion-dollar project that was to clean up the hazardous waste sites. What we found in this report from GAO in 1994 said although one of EPA's key policy objectives is to address the worst sites first, relative risk plays little role in the agency's determination of priorities.

This study by GAO finds in fact that they choose cleanup sites on the basis of political pressure, not the risk to children and safety. That is something our American children, our teachers, and the Congress should know.

What about polluters? Do polluters pay? Not with EPA. They let them off the hook. Look at this headline, "EPA Lets Polluters Off the Hook," \$4.8 billion in noncollected funds.

Mr. Speaker, I have just about had it with EPA. I am calling on the Speaker, and I am calling on Chairman McINTOSH of the oversight committee to conduct an investigation of what they are doing. Rather than going out and enforcing environmental laws, they are using taxpayer funds to start a campaign against Congress, and this action must stop.

ECONOMIC SECURITY IS A BIPARTISAN ISSUE

THE SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Ms. JACKSON-LEE] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, many of us have had an opportunity to visit more extensively over the last 2 or 3 weeks with our constituents at home. It is interesting, I rose just earlier this week to indicate really what has captured the minds and the emotions of many Americans as we have watched the Republican primary proceed before our very eyes. It is not that the debate is unique, it is that maybe it is being raised when all of us

happen to be focused in that direction, for the questions dealing with economic security, the well-being of this country, have been troubling many of our constituents for a number of years.

And it is not a partisan issue. It is in fact a bipartisan issue, and it calls to question the quality of life that we expect as Americans. What it does is, it should pit us toward each other and not against each other. It involves the assessment of affirmative action as a valuable tool in which we can extend, to those who have not had an opportunity, an even playing field.

It calls into question the attack on the earned income tax credit which rewards working people, working people who in essence are poor, to continue to work and not to seek welfare and dependence for them and their children. The earned income tax credit that is under assault by this Congress and by this budget process in fact enhances opportunities and does not take away from opportunities in both urban and rural America.

It helps the more than blue collar worker, the hourly worker who has not had an opportunity to salt away dollars. By them working, they then get a credit back from the Federal Government which gives them a continuing incentive to continue to work. Why should we undermine that incentive for the working poor?

Then there has been a big debate on those who would want to raise the minimum wage and those who would not, merely over a dollar at this point that is being proposed, all of the rancor, that this would destroy small businesses or that this would eliminate jobs. Do we really understand who is working in some of these places where we used to think teenagers worked? Fast food places? They are individuals who are attempting to support their family, some of them with four and five children.

□ 1600

I was told by a Member that he had a family in his district, many families, in fact, four members of the family, four children, excuse me, making a living on \$15,000. Now, you wonder how those people make it. I applaud them. I applaud them for working, for keeping their family together, for striking out on their own.

But if we are to uphold the quality of life for all America, then we must fight for the economic security of our citizens. We must go to corporate America and address the question that everything is not profit and dividend, although I respect those who have had the privileges of life and have invested. I want you to be successful. But we must also reinvest in the creation of jobs.

We have been told that the telecommunications bill that has just been passed will create 6 million jobs. Some

of those jobs, most of them, will be very technical positions. We must ensure that the least Americans who have tried their best with the education that they have will, in fact, seek the appropriate opportunities for work. Corporate America must reinvest back into work. It is not that jobs are leaving this country. It is that we must take a stand to create jobs and create viable work that has us making items again as we built ships, as we built items in World War II. We must be manufacturers again, and we must create opportunities for those individuals who want to hold their families together.

As I stand before you, as well as I think of economic security and opportunity, I am challenged because this month, March, is the month that we celebrate women, the historic contributions of women, when Susan B. Anthony began to talk about taking advantage of the political process and voting and standing up for what you believe in.

Well, this has not been a very good year for women, for we have found that women have become unequal both in the workplace but as well as far as constitutional and privilege and rights of privacy. For example, whatever your position is, how can you be equal with Medicare for women as opposed to men? So that women in the military would not be allowed to have abortions of their choice if paid for, so that the House banned coverage of most abortions by Federal employees health coverage, again intruding on the privacy right of women.

The House and Senate voted to prohibit the use of Federal funds to pay for abortions for Peace Corps volunteers, and so we go on and on with the onslaught and the attack on women in this Congress.

We also saw fit to provide bonus grants to States that reduce the number of abortions, not among children, and we are not talking about that question, but we are talking about adults, adult women who have the opportunity to make a choice.

One of the most egregious pieces of legislation is when a tragedy comes upon a family who desires a child and they are required to abort because of the threat of that mother. Partial abortion now has become illegal both on the physician and as well would challenge the mother to get proper medical care.

Mr. Speaker, I would say to you we need economic security for all Americans, and in respecting women, in saluting women, we need fairness for women in this legislative agenda.

OUT OF SIGHT BUT NOT FORGOTTEN

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LATOURETTE.) Under a previous order

of the House, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MCINTOSH] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MCINTOSH. Mr. Speaker, out of sight, out of mind.

There is a human tendency to forget those things or people that are not immediate to us. The media feeds this tendency—where stories of heroism or tragedy receive 30 seconds of air time on the evening news—and then they are forgotten.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to give my report from Indiana.

Today I commend the brave men and women serving the cause of peace in Bosnia—they may be out of sight, but they are not forgotten.

They are in Ruthie's and my prayers and in the daily prayers of the good people of Indiana's Second District, especially the school children.

Last December, right before Christmas Ruthie and I were fortunate enough to visit with some of the soldiers of the 21st TAACOM Army Reserve unit which was being deployed as part of Operation Determined Effort to help our troops in Bosnia.

During the course of my visit, Ruthie and I presented some of the soldiers with cards and letters of encouragement from school children at both Rushville Elementary School and Muncie Northside Middle School.

Two weeks ago, I visited Rushville Elementary School thanks to Scott Bowers of my district staff and his sister Stephanie Bowers, who teaches at the elementary school.

I was able to meet those school children who wrote the letter and have not forgotten our men and women serving in Bosnia. Their words speak volumes as to what America is all about.

The first letter that I want to share with you is from Heather Paugh, a fifth grader at Rushville Elementary, who said:

DEAR SERVICEMEN: Good luck on your mission to Bosnia. I hope that every one of you come back. I'm behind you all of the way.

Next is a letter from Jeremy Allison. Jeremy writes,

DEAR TROOPS: I wish you did not have to go to Bosnia. I hope you get all of the medicine safely to the moms and dads and the kids that are sick and need it.

My name is Jeremy Allison. My uncle is in the Air Force. I'm 10 years old and in the 4th grade. I go to Rushville Elementary School.

I hope you get back safe. If you do you will be a hero.

Remember God is with you.
Your friend, Jeremy.

The last letter I want to share with you conveys the uncertainty one of the children has toward the whole mission.

He writes:

I am very surprised that you would risk your life to save another. I don't think it's fair that you have to go. I wish that Bosnia would have peace and nobody would have to do what you're doing.

I have been studying in school about all of the people who have lost their families. I am

very sorry that happens almost everyday. I hope you do not have to shoot anybody. I'm a 10 year old boy in Rushville.

Graig Welly.

We are all proud to know that America has dedicated service men and women ready to give up their lives to protect freedom. And most importantly, children back home that believe in them.

Grownups may disagree over the policy and the deployment of troops to Bosnia, but I think most grownups, including myself, agree with Jeremy Allison: "I hope you get back safe and if you do you will be a hero. Remember God is with you."

To the brave men and women serving in Bosnia—you may be out of sight, but you are not out of mind, you are in our prayers daily.

And that is my report from Indiana this week.

JOBS IN AMERICA AND THE TRADE DEFICIT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio [Ms. KAPTUR] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I rise tonight on the topic of jobs in America and the trade deficit, an issue which, after 10 years of very hard work, has finally made it into the headlines during this Presidential primary season, and it could not have come too soon.

Last week, in our local newspaper, the Toledo Blade, one of the headlines read, "Trade Deficit Highest in 7 Years." In fact, last year, 1995, the amount of imports coming into this country versus exports going out ballooned to over \$111 billion, the worst performance of this economy since 1987, and, in fact, last year's goods deficit, that means the part of the trade deficit that deals with hard merchandise, grew to \$175 billion, an increase of over 5 percent from the prior year. That means we are digging ourselves deeper in the hole.

Trade deficits like these have turned our country from being the largest creditor in the world, that means that people borrowed from us, rather we have become the largest debtor nation in the world, importing much more than we export and having to monetize, pay for those imports with our hard-earned dollars. Is it any surprise that the kind of lingering trade deficit has served to act as a downward push on wages in this country, contributing as well to the loss of millions of jobs across our country as we see not just low-skilled jobs but high-skilled jobs moving abroad and a general decline in our own living standards?

And if you think about that for a second, with interest rates even at the level that they are today, is it not harder for you to afford a car than it was for your parents? That is because goods cost more here now.

I just want to show you a chart, I will put it up here, which in the red, which is the part I want to reference here, shows what has been happening for the last 20 years in our country. We have not had a year where we have had more exports going out of our country than imports coming in here. In fact it has been getting worse and worse. Last year, 1995, will be worse than the year of 1994. In fact, if you look at our entire balance of payments, the measure of all of the inflows and outflows of capital, goods and services to and from our country, our position has been deteriorating, as this chart indicates, since the 1970's, largely as a result of a lack of domestic savings and investment here at home, but more important, the rising penetration of foreign imports into this country and the literal displacement of jobs in our country.

I cannot tell you how many Members have come up to me on this floor since NAFTA's passage, which we fought so hard against. They said, "Marcy, we lost 3,000 jobs in northern Alabama. We have lost 2,000 jobs in east Tennessee. We have lost 14,000 jobs in Florida," and the automotive parts companies of my State of Ohio, 1,000 jobs gone already just as a result of that one trade agreement and as well as the lack of access we have into other closed markets in the world.

Much attention has been put on the impact of a long-term budget deficit in our country, and that is important. However, very little has been said about this structural trade deficit, the other pillar of the twin deficits on which our economic house and our futures stand. And I am very happy this has become a Presidential issue. It is being talked about in the Republican Party. It is being talked about in the Democratic Party.

I guess it just goes to show that when you run for President, probably the most important power you have is to focus attention on something important.

The trends are not encouraging. Since 1990, even though we cut our budget deficit by 23 percent and further cuts are expected in the coming years, our trade deficit has grown by 54 percent. At this rate, the trade deficit will overtake the budget deficit within the next 2 years, and, in fact, it already has.

The same logic that is used to support cutting the budget deficit could be equally applied to the argument for cutting this trade deficit. Any borrower or buyer of a foreign good knows that debt has a price. The U.S. trade deficit technically represents a liability on our national balance sheet, a loan from a foreign seller or creditor that must be financed.

As noted economist Wynne Godley has stated, the main causes for concern are the financial constraints that occur

when countries become heavily indebted and the loss of national income that results from rising interest payments.

In the past, even though you may go and buy a car and it may come from another country, you purchase it with your credit card, when you make those interest payments, those go to the foreign manufacturer. This is what I talk about when I say monetizing that debt.

In the past, increased flows of foreign investments into our country as well as their purchases of our securities, our Treasury bills, were necessary to pay for our trade deficit. Now the willingness and capability of these foreign creditors, especially Japan, to continue these investments and purchases is on the wane. As foreign direct investment and purchases of our securities decrease, the United States will still need to attract foreign capital to pay for this deficit.

If the trade deficit remains at the same level, by the year 2010 we will be paying the equivalent of 2.5 percent of the entire amount of goods and services produced in this country and interest payments and capital outflows to foreign countries.

Now, the 2.5 might not sound like a lot, but it represents the amount by which this economy is growing. It is not enough to catapult us into the high standard of living we would hope for our people.

Only with the goal of cutting our exploding trade deficit and making sure it remains a part of the Presidential race this year will we be able to cure the other part of the twin deficit that is causing the downward pressure on wages and living standards in this country.

INCREASING THE PUBLIC DEBT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I would like to talk about the fact that tomorrow this Chamber is going to increase the borrowing authority to the U.S. Department of Treasury, or we presume the votes will be there to increase the debt.

The public debt of this country is now \$4.9 trillion. I brought a chart with me to explain the roughly \$1.6 trillion budget that this Federal Government spends every year. If we look at the growth of the U.S. budget, back in the 1970's, the U.S. budget used up a much smaller portion of our total gross domestic product.

□ 1615

In fact, in 1948 it represented 12 percent of GDP. Now it is up to 21 percent of GDP. This Government, this over-bloated bureaucracy, is growing bigger and bigger, and how are we going to

stop the overspending? How are we going to stop more and more borrowing, that means that we are taking the money that our kids and grandkids have not even earned yet to pay for what we consider today's problems?

Everybody in the generation under 40 years old had better sit up and take note about what Government is doing to their future. This pie chart represents how Government spends its money. The bottom blue part represents half of the Federal budget, and it is spent for welfare and so-called entitlement spending.

The little white part represents interest. Interest is now becoming the largest single item in the Federal budget. This year, this represents net interest. Gross interest, if we include the interest that is paid on the money that we borrow from Social Security and the other trust funds, was over \$300 billion this part year, larger than any single expense item in the budget.

The red section represents 12 appropriation bills. Those 12 appropriation bills are controlled by Congress. Article I of the Constitution says Congress is responsible for the purse strings. This is about all we have left, is that little red piece of pie that represents 18 percent of the budget that represents the 12 appropriation bills. Why I say Congress has control of that appropriation spending is because if the President vetoes that particular bill, then there is no money there.

The green part is defense spending, and I have separated that out as the 13th appropriation bill, because the hawks and doves, the conservatives and liberals, almost never have disagreed more than a plus or minus 10-percent deviation. Everybody agrees that there should be a certain amount of our budget spent for national defense, so that is pretty much on automatic pilot.

The blue is on automatic pilot on the welfare programs, because those welfare and entitlement programs, we cannot reduce the spending for those programs unless the President signs the bill to do it.

What we have done is we have given away congressional authority over the years and said that the money is automatically going to be there if individuals meet this certain criteria of entitlement. There is a certain level of poverty, so therefore they are eligible for food stamps, or they are poor and have kids and are eligible for AFDC, or reach a certain age so you can have Medicare, or a certain level of poverty so you can have Medicaid. This cannot be changed. This is the part of the budget that is causing us to increase the national debt more than any other part of the budget.

What a lot of us think is that it is reasonable, Mr. Speaker, to say to the President, look, if we are going to increase this debt over the \$4.9 trillion

that we now have, then we want to tie to it some reforms in the welfare programs, the entitlement programs, that are causing the greatest need for increasing that debt.

Let us be fair to our kids, let us be encouraging to the economy, let us balance the budget. The only way you can balance the budget is to change the entitlement programs. That means the President has to sign that bill.

We tried it once. We got a balanced budget through the House and the Senate. The President vetoed it. We are going to try again, Mr. Speaker.

HEALTH CARE REFORM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PALLONE] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, the reason I am here today is because Democrats as a party in the House of Representatives, basically over 170 democratic Members of the House of Representatives, are uniting behind a proposal that would make modest but important improvements in America's health insurance. Basically it would provide access to more Americans so that they can have health insurance, and guaranteeing also that if they lose their job or change jobs, that they can carry their insurance with them.

The bill that we are all uniting behind and cosponsoring is sponsored in the House of Representatives by the gentlewoman from New Jersey, Mrs. MARGE ROUKEMA, a Republican and a colleague of mine, and her bill is basically the same as the one that is sponsored in the Senate by Senators KASSEBAUM and TED KENNEDY. So this is a bipartisan effort.

Basically, it is a bipartisan effort to try to bring very modest health insurance reform to the American people. I should also point out that in his State of the Union Address, President Clinton said that he would sign this bill if it was passed by the Senate and the House and brought to his desk.

The problem that we face right now is that there are strong indications that the House Republican leadership, Speaker NEWT GINGRICH and the Republican leadership in the House, are not willing to bring the bill to the floor in its existing form, and, in fact, are talking about loading up the legislation with many other provisions which we think we make it more difficult for this bill to pass.

I want to introduce to talk a little bit about the bill, the gentlewoman from California [Ms. ESHOO]. Before I do that though, I just wanted to say very briefly, that, as I said, there are 170 Democrat Members of the House that have signed on as cosponsors to this bill, and there are numerous orga-

nizations, most notably the American Medical Association and a list of probably about 100 different health care specialty groups, as well as some insurers, who are not saying that they also support the bill.

In addition to that, there has been a commitment by the Republican leadership in the Senate to bring the bill to the floor the second or third week in April. So, again, the only thing that is holding up action on this legislation at this point is the House Republican leadership, which so far has been unwilling to bring it to the floor.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to introduce my colleague, the gentlewoman from California [Ms. ESHOO], who has been a strong leader on this issue.

Ms. ESHOO. I thank the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PALLONE].

Mr. Speaker, I would like to return the compliment with a multiplier, because the gentleman has been at the forefront in support of the changes that need to be made for the American people on health care. He has been an eloquent voice in the committee that we both serve on, the Committee on Commerce, when it has come to Medicare and the protection of the elderly in our Nation. He has spoken not only eloquently but very sensibly. Sometimes I think the most uncommon of the senses is common sense. He does not lack that.

I am delighted to join with my colleague today during this special order to talk about this bill on health insurance. I ran for Congress in 1992, and one of the issues that motivated me the most, because it was something that I concentrated on and gave 10 years of legislative time and sweat and sometimes some tears, but it was all worth it, when I served in local government, was on the issue of health care.

I recognized back in 1982 that, if there was an issue that was driving our economy that needed to be reshaped and reformed, it was health care. I guess I was not only right then, I was dead right. That was back in 1982, and we went on to make some wonderful reforms and changes in the county where I served on the board of supervisors.

Then running for Congress, of course, it was what we talked about and promised. I think it is about time that we keep, at least, some of our promises to the American people. Even though there was not sweeping health care reform legislation in the 103d Congress, some cheered that. But the American people have been left without solutions that they need to bring to their day-to-day lives.

So this legislation, which is bipartisan, which was shaped in the Senate by both the Republican and Democratic Senator, has now attracted support, important support from both sides of the aisle. It is not all things to all people. It is not a Christmas tree with many decorations on it. But quite simply it strikes at the heart of two issues

that we can address in the 104th Congress.

First is portability. Portability, what does that mean? It means that where you work and you are insured with a policy, that if you move to another job or if you lose your job, you can continue that health care coverage. How? By individuals being willing to pay for it. So this is not a government program, as important as some of them are to those in other circumstances in our society, this is a piece of legislation that acknowledges and will give to people what they want, and that is portability.

Some say that they experience job lock. They will not leave their jobs for another because they do not want to leave this benefit behind. Certainly on the threshold of the 21st century, the Congress of the United States would be forward looking and say, We are more than willing to catch up with what is going on in society and allow our citizens to take with them the benefit that they already enjoy and that they themselves are willing to pay for.

So I think that is not only a very important principle to set down, but it really is responding to what people want. If the Congress itself wants to distinguish itself to the American people, I think we better be about their business and to respond to what they talk to us about every day.

I am a Californian, and I do not stay in Washington on the weekend. As soon as the bells go off, I race off to Dulles Airport to fly home to be with my constituents. This issue of portability has been spoken to and about tens of thousands of times just in my congressional district alone.

This is not a Democratic issue, it is not a Republican issue. This is the people's issue. So this legislation which we are so proud to support contains this provisions.

The other provision is something that people have spoken, I think, to every single Member of Congress about in our respective congressional districts. That is those that have a pre-existing condition are redlined by the insurance companies.

Now, let us back up for a minute and understand why we all buy insurance to begin with. I know that I buy and pay for my automobile insurance in the eventuality that something happens and I am involved in an automobile accident, that I am covered. I do not do that so that, when the accident happens, the insurance company drops me. We buy it to be covered at the time that we need the coverage.

So there are tens of millions of Americans today that on the basis of a preexisting condition, which is part of health care, everyone's body is not perfect. Every human body does not remain perfect from birth until God calls us. So we need to make these provisions for the people in our country.

I think that it is one of the real unfairnesses of the insurance industry. So we need to make these provisions. There is a great deal that is written today, everything that we pick up, from the New York Times to all of the weekly magazine publications, about the anxiety that is underlying the American public today.

Mr. Speaker, I think that we can take a quantum leap on their behalf if in fact we speak to those things that help to make a family secure. I do not think any one of us in cosponsoring this bill is making the promise that it cures everything, that it takes care of everything. It does not. But, again, it does strike to the heart of two very major, important provisions that need to be made by law by this Congress. I think that there will be a grateful Nation that will acknowledge the work of the people in the 104th Congress if in fact we produce this for them.

Now, for those that are listening in, they are probably thinking, This sounds so simple. It sounds so sensible. What could ever stand in the way of this? There are always interests that weigh in, certainly the health insurers in the country.

I think it is time that the Congress look at the interests of the American people. Certainly we can listen to what people's concerns are, about what they like or dislike about a bill. But then we must move on. We are here for the people of America. The Speaker sits in the chair with the American flag behind him. Over that it says, "In God we trust."

I would like to think that the American people will say at the end of this process and this bill that we know the President will sign, not as a Christmas tree, not diluted to be less than what it is now, but that the American people will say, "in the Congress we trust," because they responded to what we need, to what the families need, to what individuals need, to add to the security that they really deserve.

□ 1630

So I would like to again salute my colleague, Mr. PALLONE, for the leadership that he has provided with the health care task force that has certainly been in operation on the Democratic side of the aisle to help bring forward the sensible reforms, not a Rube Goldberg plan that no one can understand.

No one can charge that this is Big Government on any individual's back. This is for the people. They are willing to pay for these provisions, but the law must change in order for them to enjoy them.

So "thank you" to you, Mr. PALLONE, for your leadership. It is ongoing. You are tenacious. I think that you were absolutely terrific. I look forward to gathering round the desk of the President on a bipartisan basis when he

signs this bill into law, hopefully this year, and that we can conclude the 104th Congress in keeping the promise that we made to the American people that we would indeed try to lift them up and that there will be sensible health care reform, and I think that this bill, H.R. 2893, is it.

Thank you for sharing some of this special order time. I think that this is special, and I think that it is in order.

Mr. PALLONE. I want to thank my colleague from California, Ms. ESHOO, for explaining the bill and basically why those two principles of portability and limitations on preexisting conditions as the basis for getting health insurance are so important.

As you indicated, it seems like this is apple pie. In other words, why would anybody oppose it? But as we know, that is not the case. In fact, without getting into all the bureaucracy of it, what we are trying to press and challenge the Republican leadership to do is to simply bring up this bill in what we call a clean form, exactly the way you described it and the way it was introduced, and not load onto it all kinds of other things that may create controversy and make it difficult to pass.

One of the things that we have heard is that in the Senate, Senators KASSEBAUM and KENNEDY seem to have a commitment from the Republican and the Democratic leadership to do exactly that. When the bill comes up, as I said, in mid-April or possibly late April, they already have a commitment that there will not be any amendments. Somebody might offer an amendment, but there is not going to be any effort to allow those amendments to succeed, not because you and I or others do not think that we should go further and do more for health insurance reform, because we do, but because we just know that these things are basic and we do not want them cluttered up.

Now, on the other hand, if I could just come back to the House for a minute, what we are hearing in the House from the Republican leadership is very different. Just to give you some information, this was from yesterday's New York Times, and just to read a little bit, it says that the House Republican leaders said today they would soon take up this bill, but they intend to add provisions that are likely to generate bitter, prolonged disputes in Congress.

For example, they are talking about adding provisions dealing with medical malpractice, antitrust law, special savings accounts for medical expenses, and tax deductions for the health insurance costs of people who are self-employed. Again, we may or may not agree with those points, but they are, as you know being in the Commerce Committee, tremendously controversial.

It says, in fact, in the article that the decision to add these provisions essentially is made to placate conservative House Republicans or to satisfy committee chairmen keenly interested in one provision or another. I honestly believe, though, that the real motivation is to sabotage the bill because they know, the House Republican leadership knows, as you and I know, that these provisions are very controversial. Many of them were hotly contested during the Medicaid, Medicare budget battle that we had for a year that was never resolved, and I think it is important for us to keep pointing out we want a clean bill.

We do not want, for the sake of those who are more conservative or those who are more liberal, to sort of muck up this bill, because it is so important that it move forward.

Ms. ESHOO. Would the gentleman yield for just a moment?

Mr. PALLONE. Sure.

Ms. ESHOO. I think as people are tuned in and hopefully listening and finding this, our conversation, enlightening, the reason why we point out, excuse the expression, the ying and yang of this, is that what has taken place in the Senate around this bipartisan bill and the promise to keep it clean is to keep it uncomplicated.

With the ingredients that are already there, they are winning ingredients. We know that a soufflé only rises once, and so we want to capture that opportunity. For that set of ingredients that has been agreed to and I think will breed the success that we are looking for, these two major, important health care reforms for the people of America, that we duplicate that recipe and those ingredients in the House.

If in fact other ingredients are thrown into this so that the soufflé does not rise, then I do not think it is difficult to predict. We will lumber toward the end of the 104th Congress, I think, with egg on the face, most frankly, because the American people are exhausted with the partisanship that comes around these life issues and what secures their family.

They do not want to hear these kind of debates. They want us to stand next to them, pay attention to what they are saying, and at least incrementally come out with the two things that this very sensible bipartisan bill represents.

So thanks again to my colleague. I think you are exactly what people sent you here to do, that you are sensible, that you are caring, and that we want to be effective and produce for the American people. After all, this is the House of the people, this Chamber that we are standing in.

Some of the greatest Americans have come and gone from this floor, have addressed the Nation from that podium, and I think that we are their political descendants and we would do well to remind ourselves of the greatness of individuals of the past.

The reason that they were great was because they were good. Why were they good? Because they were effective. Why were they effective? It is because they produced things for the American people, and they are long in the American people's memory for what they accomplished on their behalf.

I think that we can do the same thing, and I would call on the Speaker and anyone else that is thinking of, excuse the expression, mucking up the bill or placing on it those things that will make it cave in, instead of shepherding it across the finish line and producing a great touchdown for America.

Thank you.

Mr. PALLONE. Thank you. I just wanted to continue, if I could, to talk about some of the efforts, if you will, that are taking place even today to try to avoid Mrs. ROUKEMA's bill from coming to the floor in the clean form that we just talked about.

First of all, in the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities today a bill was reported out by Mr. FAWELL of Illinois instead of the Roukema bill that we just discussed. In fact, there was an effort by the Democrats on the committee to simply pose an amendment that would move the Roukema bill or take up the Roukema bill, and that was defeated along partisan lines, the Democrats voting for it, the Republicans against it.

The Fawell bill, if you will, that was actually reported out of the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities does not include the Roukema bill's protections for individuals who have been laid off or retired and are trying to purchase health insurance for themselves. It also contains weaker provisions with respect to protecting individuals against being denied health care due to preexisting conditions.

Another shortcoming, if you will, of the Fawell bill includes provisions that would threaten State reform initiatives designed to increase access and affordability in the health insurance market. Basically this deals with the whole issue of ERISA, where the Federal Government essentially preempts any State efforts to improve access or to do more, if you will, in terms of health insurance reform than the Federal Government might do.

So already, getting back to the point that myself and the gentlewoman from California made before, already there are efforts on the part of the Republican leadership in the House to sort of muck up this bill and not bring the clean bill to the floor that would simply address the issues of portability and limitations on preexisting conditions.

We also understand that in another House committee, the House Ways and Means Committee, there may be an effort to bring up a bill, H.R. 1610, by Mr. THOMAS. That again is a much weaker

reform measure than the Roukema bill. What we are seeing here essentially is the leadership in the House moving to try to enact provisions that are much less reform-minded, if you will, than the legislation that we have talked about today.

I wanted to go back briefly to just explain in a little more detail what this legislation that was sponsored by Mrs. ROUKEMA would do and how important it is to the average American. Essentially what it is is a minimum guarantee for all citizens with employment-based health coverage, in other words, these are people that are buying insurance on the job or essentially getting insurance through their employer, that as long as they pay their premiums, their health insurance can never be taken away from them, whether they change jobs, lose their jobs, or get sick.

That is essentially what we are trying to do. Exclusions for preexisting conditions would be limited. They cannot be reimposed on those with current coverage who change jobs or whose employers change insurance companies.

No employers who want to buy a policy for their employees can be turned down because of the health of their employees. No employees can be excluded from an employer's policy because they have higher than average health care costs, and cancellation of policies will be prohibited for those who continue to pay their premiums. Any employee losing group coverage because they leave their job or for any other reason would be guaranteed the right to buy an individual policy.

Now, again, the Roukema bill, H.R. 2893, to get a little more specific, would prohibit insurers and employers from limiting or denying coverage under group plans for more than 12 months for a medical condition that was diagnosed or treated during the previous 6 months. So, in other words, if you have coverage now, I will use the example of a cancer patient.

If you are working, for example, for General Motors and when you are there working you discover that you have cancer and you have to have treatment, be treated for cancer, and 6 months later you were to change jobs and while you are still undergoing treatment and move to, for example, to Ford Motor Co. and start working there, well, essentially the new company would only be allowed to exclude you from coverage at most over a lifetime of 12 months. So that maybe for the first 6 months, there would not be the guarantee of health coverage once you change jobs, but there would be after those 6 months.

Now, again, those of us who believe that there should be universal coverage and that you should not be able to exclude anybody at any time would say that even that is not enough. But at least to guarantee that, that a person

for the most can be excluded for only 12 months, is a significant change in the law from what you are guaranteed right now.

Also, denial of individual coverage to workers losing group coverage that have had it for at least 18 months would also be prohibited. I do not want to get into all the specific details, but essentially it is a significant improvement from the way the law now reads.

The other thing that I wanted to point out today is that our Democratic caucus health care task force, which is supportive of the Roukema bill and which has sort of spearheaded the effort to try to get the many Democratic cosponsors that we now have for the bill, about 171, we developed about 6 months ago a set of principles on health care reform which is essentially guiding what we do in this Congress. The two goals that we set forth in our Democratic principles of health care reform that are really most important are, first, that Democrats remain committed to universal coverage for all Americans and, second, that Democrats remain committed to assure that high quality health care is affordable for all.

So essentially what our task force principles say is that we will support any proposals which move the Nation closer to these goals of universal coverage and high quality health care that is affordable for all, and we will oppose proposals which move the Nation further away from those goals. For that reason we have been very much opposed to the cuts and changes in Medicare and Medicaid that the Republican leadership has proposed as part of its budget recommendations in 1995 and that continue into 1996.

At the same time, though, the principles that are incorporated in the Roukema bill which we talked about on the floor today, the principles that basically limit exclusion for preexisting conditions and the principles that allow you to carry your health insurance with you from one job to the other, so to speak, these are principles that move us in the direction, if you will, of universal coverage and more high quality coverage that is affordable.

□ 1645

That is not to say that these are the answers and that these are going to necessarily achieve universal coverage or affordable health care, but at least they move us in that direction, and that is why our health care task force is very much supportive of the Roukema bill.

What we are saying essentially, and I cannot reiterate it enough, is that in this Congress so far nothing really has been accomplished to move us toward health care reform, and even with the battle over Medicare and Medicaid and the budget battles that continue, it is

not likely that there is going to be much resolution of those issues and those programs. But at least, if we can achieve modest health insurance reform on the issues of portability and on the issue of preexisting conditions, then we will have accomplished something, and there is a need for bipartisan cooperation to at least achieve those modest goals as we continue to work toward the ultimate goal of universal coverage and affordable quality health care for all.

So with that, I would just like to conclude this special order today, but point out that we are going to continue to press that the Roukema bill be brought to the floor as a clean bill and oppose any efforts to try to prevent its adoption in this Congress and its ultimately being signed into law by President Clinton who has repeatedly stated that he will sign the bill and that he supports this very modest health care insurance reform.

BALANCING THE BUDGET

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LATOURETTE). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Maine [Mr. LONGLEY] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. LONGLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to be here in the House this afternoon, and I would like to discuss one of the aspects of the budget debate that I think we have not been paying enough attention to, and that is that, and I know that there is a great deal of concern amongst the public in terms of what is really happening in Washington, and I guess I have got some reassuring news.

The reassuring news in that I think this Congress has succeeded in stopping the spending train in Washington dead in its tracks, and in all honesty I wish that we could have done it in, perhaps, a cleaner and a more polished manner.

But I would like to offer a little bit of historical perspective on some of the difficulties that we have been facing, and what this Congress really means, particularly in comparison to prior Congresses, and what prior Congresses have attempted to do to control spending, and I would like to go back to 1975.

1975 was the year that my father was elected Governor of Maine, Governor Longley. He was an independent, and I had just graduated from college, was doing some volunteer work, not only in his campaign, but later in his term of office, and at that point first became personally aware and met many of the members of the Maine congressional delegation, which at that point, in 1975, included Senator Muskie as well as Senator Hathaway, both very well respected Members of the U.S. Senate, also Congressman Emery and Congressman OLYMPIA SNOWE of Maine who were representing the State of Maine

in the House of Representatives. And knowing and having met these individuals on a personal basis was, of course, a very special experience for myself as a recent graduate of college and as a law student, and I took particular notice of the fact that at that time the Congress was grappling with the issue of the Federal budget.

In fact I believe it was 1975; it was very significant in the sense that Congress passed the Budget Reform Act which was attempting to address what was then viewed as a systemic problem in the Congress, in the U.S. Government, in terms of how we really dealt with managing the spending of the Federal Government, and in that year we created the House Committee on the Budget in the House of Representatives, in this Chamber, and we also created the Senate Budget Committee, and 1975 also marked the establishment of the Congressional Budget Office which was to be a special office of the Congress that was going to be geared to address fiscal issues in this country and provide honest advice, nonpartisan advice, to those of us here in Washington who were attempting to deal with the issue of how to control Federal spending.

I mention that because at that point the Federal debt was somewhere below a trillion, possibly about a half a trillion dollars, and yet it was still viewed, the national debt was still viewed, as a serious potential crisis, and the level of federal spending and the deficits were also viewed as a crisis.

Now mind you that was almost 20 years ago, but as a country we had accumulated a record of unbalanced budgets, of running deficits, that were exceeding the prior 30 or 40 years.

I believe that presently, here in 1996, I have been advised that we have only balanced our Federal budget in 9 or 10 of the last 60 years, and clearly we have almost 50 years, going back 60 years where we did not balance the budget, and so 20 years ago, to put this in context, we had acquired a record of unbalanced budgets, felt it was a serious crisis, needed to act on it. And again I need to underscore that that was 20 years ago.

I had another personal connection in this issue, and that was that the following year, in 1976, Governor Longley was appointed as one of the first national cochairmen of the Committee for a Balanced Budget Amendment, and so against a member of my family, somebody that I love very much was given this responsibility of calling the country's attention to the crisis that our budget deficits represented.

Now I mention that as backdrop to the fact that I asked Greg Winter of my staff to go back and look at the major congressional actions taken to deal with the budget crisis and give me a breakdown of the different acts and what they might represent, and I am

stunned to discover that going back just to 1980 there have been 16 major pieces of legislation designed to deal with the Federal budget crisis.

In 1980 we passed, the Congress passed, the Omnibus Reconciliation Act. 1981, we passed the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act. In fact that title became so popular that we later passed six additional acts with that same title over the last 15 years. And of course in 1982 we had the Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act. It is famously known as TEFRA to nearly every accountant in the United States. 1983, we passed Social Security amendments again designed to deal with controlling the growth of spending particularly in the Social Security System and to bring the revenues at that point which were under threat based on the increasing payments, it was felt 12 years ago that we needed to act to protect the integrity of Social Security. 1984, we had the Deficit Reduction Act, and then in 1985 we had the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act. In fact some of these titles actually become somewhat ridiculous: We have the Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1986, and then the following year, in 1987, the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Reaffirmation Act.

In fact in audiences, as I have spoken to audiences in my district, I have joked that the only thing that we have missed in the last 18 years is the words really, really, really serious about balancing the budget act, and the underscores, I think, a great concern that many of us have, and I know that the public and certainly this Member feels very strongly that we need to work together, Democrats and Republicans, to deal with this important issue. Balancing the budget should not be a partisan political issue.

But I also have to say that there comes a time when you must focus on what your objectives are, and unfortunately partisan fights do arise and occur, and maybe sometimes for good reason, but I would point out that in looking at these 16 pieces of legislation that were passed that each of the parties at different times supported 12 of the 16 acts, and on 8 instances majorities of each party in this Congress supported the acts, which basically means that both majorities, of both the Democrats in the Congress and Republicans in the Congress, passed or supported 8 of the 16 acts, and, as I indicated, the Republican Party per se supported 12 of the 16 pieces of legislation, and the Democrats supported, again also supported, 12 of the 16, and in 8 of those years they were in agreement in passing these bills.

Now what was the problem? Well, I think, first of all, the focus was on the deficit, and when you get right down to it, I think that one of the lessons that we have learned in the last 2 years is that the deficit per se is not the issue.

The deficit is the symptom; spending is the issue. And controlling spending has become, I think, a priority in this Congress.

But something else is important to understand. Many of these pieces of legislation contain fiscal notes that called for in some cases revenue increases, in many cases spending cuts. But when you look at the actual numbers, the fact of the matter is that in no single year over the last 16 years has the Federal Government ever reduced spending, and by that I mean actually spent less money in 1 year than it had spent in the prior year.

And the message is clear, that spending has continued to increase unabated for the last 16 years, despite the fact that we have had 16 major pieces of legislation designed to deal with reducing spending so that we could get spending in line with revenues and work towards balancing the budget.

The point that I would like to make, and I see that Representative NEUMAN has come into the Chamber, and I would just end with this one comment and then perhaps ask for some comments from the gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. NEUMANN. But the point that I would make is this:

I think many of us who were just elected to this body realize in hindsight that this Congress, albeit well intentioned, was focusing on the wrong aspects of the problem and was attempting to deal with the symptom; i.e., the deficits, and not the fundamental problem which was overspending; and the second recognition that we all have is that what we have seen truly is a failure of will, a failure of Congress to insist on the measures that were necessary to actually bring revenues in line with expenditures, and I would suggest that one of the major mistakes that we want to avoid, that this Congress wants to avoid, is that it would be very easy for us to enter into a look good, feel good agreement with the administration on a budget, and we could all hold news conferences and pat each other on the back. But unlike prior congresses, none of us wants to be in a position where in 10 or 20 years we find out that our children are really paying the bill.

And I notice that the gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. NEUMAN is here, and, MARK, welcome to this special order.

Mr. NEUMANN. I will just carry on a little bit on just what you were just saying here, that when I go home to our district, and I turn on my TV set, and I hear about cut, cut, cut, cut, and then I come back out here to Washington, and I take a look at the numbers, and the numbers are not going down, they are going up in spending; spending today is about \$1530 billion or about \$1.530 trillion, and by the year 2002 that spending is slated to go all the way up to 1.8 or \$1.835 billion.

So when people talk about these spending cuts, I think it is important

to note that they are not cuts in spending. What they are is reductions in the amounts of increases, and in fact, as you can see looking at these numbers in the spending line, we have got spending increases of \$350 billion from the year 1995 to the year 2002. Spending is continuing to go up. And you are right on the money with what you are talking about, that the real goal here needs to be to get the net revenues into line with the amount of spending that we are doing. That is how you get to a balanced budget.

□ 1700

The way to get a balanced budget is to control the amount of money that you were spending out here. In fact, that is what the Republican plan would have done had it been signed into law by the President. Of course, it was most recently vetoed. I think it is real important to know that that spending and bringing that spending into line is what is absolutely essential.

Again, when we look at this chart, we see revenues of 1.356 or \$1,356 billion today, going all the way to 1.841. The problem with charts like this one I have in my hand here is there are so many numbers in my charts that we lose sight of what this really means. What this really means, it is not about these numbers. It is about the next generation of Americans. It is about our children, it is about our grandchildren.

If we do not accomplish this, the picture is not very bright for our children. But if we manage to bring this about, it opens all kinds of opportunities for our children that absolutely were not there before. Balancing the budget, according to Alan Greenspan, means a 2-percent reduction in the interest rates. That means our children, that means young Americans, get to buy homes and get to buy cars.

Mr. Speaker, what a lot of people forget when they go down this road of discussion is that when these young people buy homes and when they buy cars, somebody is going to be building those homes and somebody is going to be putting those cars together and building those automobiles. That means jobs. So we are not only talking about the ability for them to live the American dream, to own their own home, we are really talking about them being able to live the American dream and have a job that allows them to work and provide for their families. This is truly the opportunity to achieve the American dream.

This is absolutely essential. These numbers are nice, but it is not about numbers. It is about our children and the opportunities they have here in America. It is about keeping our jobs here at home instead of watching them to overseas. It is about the job opportunities and the opportunities to live the American dream. That is what this chart is really all about.

Mr. LONGLEY. That is very important.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. SHAYS].

Mr. SHAYS. I thank the gentleman for making sure we kept this time.

Mr. Speaker, this is an extraordinary opportunity that we have to just really clarify certain issues and just make sure that we are all focused on our ultimate objectives. We want to get our financial house in order and balance the budget, and we want to save our trust funds, particularly Medicare, from bankruptcy. We thought they were going to start to go insolvent and be bankrupt in the year 2002, if we did not do anything. Now we learn it started to go insolvent last year, and will be bankrupt just at the turn of the century, so we have some heavy lifting to do to save our Medicare plan for seniors, even present-day seniors.

Then that third issue, and it all relates, we want to transform this caretaking social, corporate, even farming welfare state into what we would call a caring opportunity society. We want to help people kind of grow the seeds instead of just hand them the food.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman related it so well to our children. It is amazing to me that in the last 22 years we have allowed the national debt to increase 10 times, from about \$430 billion in 1974 to about \$4,900 billion; just 22 years in a time of relative peace. There it is. It is growth out of control. In that case you are doing it from 1960. But if we notice the number of 1975, down there, it just starts to go up at an alarming rate.

I think former Prime Minister Rabin, who was assassinated, he was a politician, and he used to enjoy telling people and reminding all politicians around the world that elected officials are elected by adults to represent the children. We are going to be judged on our success on what kind of world we leave our kids. The kind of world we are leaving our kids is not a hopeful one unless we get this incredible runaway debt in line.

I thank you for letting me share this time with you which you have claimed, and I am grateful you have.

Mr. LONGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I would just add to that particularly with reference to the chart of the gentleman from Wisconsin, [Mr. NEUMANN] that what we do not hear our attackers saying, and we hear an awful lot about, for instance, how much money we are going to be spending on medical care for our senior citizens, and believe me, that is a very important priority; but what our attackers do not acknowledge is that there is one program for which we will pay more money in the next 7 years than we will spend on medical care for our seniors. That is interest on the Federal debt.

I think that the public would be absolutely amazed to learn that we will spend more money on interest on the

Federal debt in the next 7 years under any of the programs being discussed than we will spend on medical care for our seniors. That is how critical the issue has become.

Mr. Speaker, I notice the gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. KINGSTON], has arrived, and I yield to him.

Mr. KINGSTON. I think it is important to follow up that comment, Mr. Speaker, in saying that that interest does not pay down one dime of the principal, that people will still continue to pay all the other taxes involved in it. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. NEUMANN], has said that two reasons, real quickly, to balance the budget is it saves America from economic disaster. We are paying almost \$20 billion each month in the interest on the debt already. Nations cannot survive with that much debt service.

No. 2, the gentleman had said that there is a great interest or dividend in terms of the homeowner. If you have a 30-year home mortgage for a \$75,000 house, a 2-percent drop in interest rates, which is what the Federal Reserve would estimate balancing the budget would bring permanently, bringing lower interest rates permanently, that would mean \$37,000 less that American homeowners would pay on that mortgage. If it is a \$15,000 car loan, American consumers would pay \$900 less.

One thing that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. NEUMANN] did not mention, a third reason you want to balance the budget is because it will lower your taxes. Middle-class America right now has gone from paying about 5 percent Federal income tax in the 1950's to, currently, 24 percent. In all State, local, and Federal taxes, middle income, it is about 45 percent for Americans now. If President Clinton had not vetoed our bill this April, this April, 6 weeks from now, Americans who have children would have \$500 in their wallet.

Mr. SHAYS. Per child.

Mr. KINGSTON. In their wallet, right here. I do not know how many American families would benefit from that in Maine or the other States, but I can promise you, in Georgia it would mean a tremendous amount. That is real money. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. NEUMANN] said let us get off the chart. That is what we are talking about, a \$500 per child tax credit in your wallet today.

Mr. SHAYS. If you had three children you would get \$1,500. It is important to point out, we did not just have a tax cut without paying for it. The way we pay for it is cut government spending or slow the growth of some programs in order to afford to reduce taxes by probably about \$180 billion by the time we ultimately have an agreement with the President. If we do, it is in that range, we want it about \$240.

That \$140 billion was paid for by reducing government more so we could afford that tax cut.

The thing that just simply amazes me is we have some of our colleagues who say, "I want to balance the budget, but I do not want a tax cut for the wealthy," quote unquote. The irony of that is that our \$500 tax credit is going to families who make less than \$75,000. That is the bulk of our tax cut. They are hardly wealthy people.

But they say they do not want that, as if they want to balance the budget. The crazy thing is they want to still balance the budget in 7 years without a tax cut, so it means that they are going to spend the money that we save for a tax cut, they are going to take and spend it for more government. So they are not balancing the budget any sooner. They are just making government larger than we would make it.

Mr. NEUMANN. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I think that point is so important. I have found that to be such a big misconception, talking to folks here in Washington versus talking to folks at our town hall meetings back in Wisconsin. The people back in Wisconsin think if we do not do the tax cuts, that means we will borrow less of our children's money and get to a balanced budget sooner. If that were the case, I would sure listen to that argument.

But that is not what is being talked about here in Washington. That is Wisconsin. Out here in Washington what we want to do or what is being discussed is getting rid of the tax cuts and spending the money on more bureaucratic programs here in Washington. That I am opposed to.

If we talk about what the Wisconsin people think we maybe ought to be thinking about doing, and that is getting to a balanced budget sooner and borrowing less of our children's money, that is a good discussion. But that is absolutely not the discussion going on out here in Washington. The discussion out here is totally centered around if we do not do the tax cuts, then we get to spend more money, like somehow that money belongs to us. That is not our money. That is the American taxpayers' money. It is our children's money that we are borrowing here. It is not our money to spend.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, one thing that is very important for us to remember, and I believe all four of us here worked for that lockbox provision in an appropriations bill that said when you reduce spending by x amount of dollars, that money goes to deficit reduction, rather than just being unearmarked and open for the general budget to spend any way you want.

What is so important about that is the Washington liberals and the administration fought that lockbox provision, and now we have been unable to

pass that. It passed out of the House, but we cannot get it out of the Senate because of the Washington liberals fighting it.

That is the very thing people in Wisconsin are saying. If you are going to put that \$500 directly into deficit reduction, that is one thing, but we know what it is going to do is to feather the bed of another bureaucracy, and another bureaucrat is going to spend it.

Mr. LONGLEY. Mr. Speaker, this goes back to a point that I attempted to make before each of the Members arrived on the floor.

Mr. SHAYS. You mean while we were running to get over here, when you took over the floor?

Mr. LONGLEY. I had gone back, actually, and I had mentioned 1975 and Senator Muskie's appointment as chairman of the Senate Committee on the Budget, and that was the year the House Committee on the Budget was established and the Congressional Budget Office was established, because 20 years ago we viewed the debt and spending as a serious problem, and we created special committees to deal with it. Yet, 20 years later, we are still struggling with the same issue.

Mr. SHAYS. In fact, it has gotten much worse.

Mr. LONGLEY. What has been amazing to me is, as I mentioned, from 1980 forward, there have been 16 major pieces of legislation. Most of this legislation passed on a strong bipartisan basis. I do not say this to be critical.

Mr. SHAYS. What was this legislation intended to do?

Mr. LONGLEY. To reconcile spending.

Mr. SHAYS. It is more process-oriented?

Mr. LONGLEY. The Omnibus Reconciliation Act. There were seven omnibus budget reconciliation acts. We had a Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act. Then we later had a Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Reaffirmation Act. We literally had everything except the we are really, really, really serious about controlling spending act.

I just checked this afternoon the yearly rates of increase in Federal spending in the 1980's. I say this, whether we are Republican or Democrat, let us deal with the facts. The facts are that spending increased at tremendous rates during the 1980's. Yet, at the same time, we had Congress working together on a bipartisan basis, probably everyone believing they were trying to do the right thing, but what they were trying to do is, frankly, nibble around the edges of the problem. We were tinkering with Social Security, we were tinkering with retirement programs, we were tinkering with details of the bureaucracy. We were talking about spending cuts, but yet, my research tells me there is not a single year in the last 20 years, if any

even in the history of this country, where the Federal Government has spent less in 1 year than it has spent in the prior year.

Mr. SHAYS. Really what the gentleman is describing, if the gentleman will yield, he is describing a situation where people think we have a revenue problem, and we know that we have a spending problem. Revenue keeps going up every year. It is just that our spending is going up by a greater amount.

Mr. KINGSTON. I think it is also important, Mr. Speaker, that as an outsider, I am relatively new to Congress, but it looks to me that every time Congress has made a deal in a bipartisan fashion, the tax increase came at the beginning of the deal and the savings or the cuts came later, and then that was the time for a new Congress to come in, and the cuts never happened.

Mr. LONGLEY. It is even worse than that, I would say to the gentleman. The revenue increases always happen. The spending cuts, reductions, never happen. There had never been a cut in Federal spending in the last 15 years. The Federal Government has consistently spent more money each year than it did in the prior year. All of the talk about spending cuts or spending reductions was part of the hypothetical wherein you created an artificial level of increase, then said you were going to reduce the artificial increase, but you did not tell people that you were not cutting, you were still increasing spending.

Mr. SHAYS. If the gentleman will yield, this is just an exact circumstance. When I was first elected in 1987 I kept hearing that we were cutting spending, and we actually had bills that said we were cutting spending. I would go back to my district and say, "We cut so much." At one community meeting someone said, "Young man," and I was younger then, "how come the budget keeps going up?" A good question.

I went back to my office, and we learned about this amazing thing that started to happen in 1974, which was called baseline budgeting. We spent \$100 billion this year, and then they said it would cost to run the same level of service \$105 billion and Congress spent \$103 billion, and they would call that a \$2 billion cut, even though we were spending \$3 billion more.

One of the things I hope we do in this special order is to really just talk about where are we cutting, where are we freezing, and where are we allowing growth to continue to grow, quite frankly, at a significant rate.

I know our colleague from Michigan, Mr. SMITH, is here. I don't know if he wants to be on theme. If he is going to be on theme, we would welcome him to participate.

Mr. KINGSTON. He is always on theme.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Maine will

yield, I think the theme is to remind ourselves how bad it is for not only making our kids and our grandkids pay all this overspending and what we borrow back, but it is also tremendously negative on the economy. So what we have said is such things as a child born today is going to have to pay \$187,000 in their lifetime just to pay their share of the interest on the national debt.

Mr. SHAYS. Not to pay back the national debt, just to pay the carrying charge.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Just to pay their share of the interest. It is time everybody, that is, however you want to put it, you are a young man relatively, I would say to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. SHAYS], but everybody had better start looking at what this Government is doing to their lives and the lives of their children.

Not only is it immoral to make our kids and grandkids pay our bills today, like they are not going to have their own problems when they grow up, but it is tremendously negative on the economy, because our demand for money, for more borrowing, has driven up interest rates by 2 percent.

Mr. KINGSTON. One of the things I wanted to point out is that on the chart that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. NEUMANN] showed us earlier, there is an urgency. When you have a Federal budget that has been going like this, or excuse me, a deficit, and then it goes like that, people have said particularly to the freshmen, "You are going too far too fast." I disagree. When it is the third largest expenditure in the national budget, the national debt—

Mr. SHAYS. If you can clarify.

Mr. KINGSTON. I am trying to turn this thing around. If you are trying to balance this budget and bring down that orange peak line, what you are trying to do is do it in 7 years. The folks back home, the business people I know say, "Why can't you do it in 1 year?" President Clinton as a candidate on June 4, 1992, promised to do it in 4 years.

□ 1715

I believe we should be arguing, is 7 years not waiting too long? Should we not try to balance it in 3 or years? Indeed I supported the balance that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. NEUMANN] had, which was a 5-year.

Mr. NEUMANN. I would just add on that, it is possible to do this even faster than 7. Seven is a compromise that is putting off how long it takes us before we start this line going back in the other direction.

Again, this line shows the growth in the Federal debt over the past years, and we are on a steep incline. I told my folks back home at the town hall meetings that my goal was to someday stand before them, my dream for the future of this country, and say, yes,

here is what we have done in Congress. We have stopped that growth and we have started it back down again so that our children have a future in this country of ours. That is my goal for my service here.

Mr. LONGLEY. If the gentleman would yield, if I could add to what he is saying, and I do not have a chart to go with it, but I also added up the, quote, "Tax increases that were called for in these 16 pieces of legislation."

Mr. SHAYS. Does the gentleman mean since 1984?

Mr. LONGLEY. Since 1980. Theoretically Congress has only raised taxes by just about \$500 billion over the last 16 years. The reality is we have increased spending somewhere in the vicinity, in other words, if one took the baseline approach which was at \$590 billion a year in 1980 and carried that forward, despite officially raising taxes only by \$500 billion, there has been over \$5 trillion of increased spending.

What is going on? What has really happened is because much of the tax system is on a percentage basis, we have built in automatic tax increases into the Tax Code that generate more and more revenue every year, whether or not the tax increases were legislated. Then on top of those increases, we have added additional increases in taxes in a manner that has always protected the Government, always made the Government look as if we were the innocent party.

Mr. SHAYS. The bottom line to this issue, though, is that revenues are increasing significantly, and the challenge is that expenses are increasing even at a greater amount. We need to start to slow the growth of spending.

I am seeing where the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] is, and basically the minority has accused us of, say, cutting the earned income tax credit, which is a tax credit that was designed to help working poor, transition them to a point where they are actually making enough to not be poor. They do not pay any taxes, they actually get a credit back from the Government.

We are expanding that program. But this is what we are being told. We are being told that we are cutting the earned income tax credit, that we are cutting the School Lunch Program, that we are cutting the student loan program, that we are cutting Medicaid and Medicare. That is what we are being told, and they call it a cut.

This is what is happening. Our bill increases the earned income tax credit from \$19 to \$25 billion. It increases the School Lunch Program from \$5.2 to \$6.8 billion in the seventh year. The student loan program, and that is the one that really gets me, is going from \$24 to \$36 billion. Only in this place and in this city when you spend 50 percent more, it is \$24 billion now, we are going to add \$12 billion to be \$36 billion in the seventh year, do people call it a cut.

Mr. NEUMANN. If the gentleman will yield, I would like to ask the gentleman a question, again, that I ask at all the townhall meetings. You talked about the student loans, you used the \$24 billion and \$36 billion numbers. I would like to ask how many of the American people would be willing to accept a pay cut from \$2,400 a month to \$3,600 a month. Let me ask that question again. How many would like a pay cut from \$2,400 to \$3,600?

Mr. SHAYS. In other words, a 50-percent increase. I think we would all like it, especially if we could get away with calling it a cut.

I am not proud that there are certain parts of the Government that are going up. I would like to be able to get a better handle on spending. It is just that I think if you tell the American people the truth, they will tell you to do the right thing. If you kind of obfuscate it and you distort it, they are going to give you a mixed signal back.

The fact is the earned income tax credit is going up, the School Lunch Program is, the student loan, and Medicaid. Medicaid is going from \$89 billion, which it was last year, to \$127 billion.

Medicare is growing from last year, \$178 billion to \$289 billion. We are going to spend 7 percent more each year on Medicare, we are going to spend 60 percent more in the seventh year than we did now. And on a per beneficiary, because everybody says we have more seniors, you have more seniors, but even if we take all the seniors, we are going from \$4,800 to \$7,100 in the seventh year, \$7,100 per senior, a 49 percent increase in the seventh year over now. Hardly a cut.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. If the gentleman will yield, when I go to my town hall meetings, and you can picture that group of people out there that are having a hard time with their own budgets, they start saying when we hear what the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. SHAYS] has just said: "Well, why aren't you cutting faster? Why don't you cut more? Why are you spreading it out so long?"

Then they hear that even with the Republican plan we are still borrowing \$100 billion a year, even at the end of 7 years, from Social Security and the other trust funds.

Mr. SHAYS. We will still be borrowing from the trust funds, the gentleman is right.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. They say, "Look, you've got to do better than this."

Is it not sad that we cannot get some of the liberals, the President of the United States, to say, Yes, we are going to do the right thing for the future and we are going to stop playing political games? It is so frustrating that we cannot cut some of this spending and make this economy stronger, and leave our kids a paid-off mortgage rather than the big debt.

Mr. LONGLEY. Just to pick up on one example, I think if someone asked me what has bothered me the most perhaps since I came to Washington, I have to say the lack of honesty, the lack of directness, being candid about the difficult issues that we are confronting.

Mr. SHAYS. The gentleman likes that Maine honesty. You want people in here to speak like the people in Maine.

Mr. LONGLEY. It is hard, I think, for people across the United States to recognize the extent to which people in this body frankly can become so clever with language and words that they have made an art form out of disguising the truth. As an example, let us just take the Medicare situation.

I campaigned 2 years ago on the fact that the Social Security trustees, and this was in 1994, actually 1993 and 1994, that the Social Security trustees had reported that the system was in serious difficulty, and in 1994 they projected that the three major Social Security funds, the disability fund, the Medicare fund, and the Social Security retirement income fund were all going broke. Specifically they projected that the disability fund was going to be broke last year, that the Medicare fund would be broke in 2002, and when I say broke, there would not be a nickel left in it, and that the general trust fund for Social Security would be broke as early as 2029.

I have a number of insurance and financial companies in my district. I checked with some of the professional economists and they said that the private projections are that Social Security could be broke as early as 2010.

I say to people, when you have an official report, signed by the Secretary of Treasury, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, and the Secretary of Labor telling you that three major Social Security trust funds that the public depends on, particularly the Medicare fund, which right now is a very critical program for our senior citizens, when you are told by your Government that the program is going bankrupt, what do you do?

Then I told people that when I came to Washington, I had people seriously tell me, "Don't worry about it, they say that every year." When I go back to my district, they are astounded.

But I go one step further. It turns out, in the middle of this budget crisis, that as early as November, that the Medicare trust fund went into deficit a year earlier than it was projected because spending was almost \$5.5 billion more than the trustees had estimated, and we did not even hear about it.

I have to question who is in control and why are they not being truthful with us about the nature of the problem we are trying to confront?

Then I say to my audiences, particularly in my district, young and old

alike, a lot of business people, individuals, I say, Now what do you do if you are in that situation? Let me tell you the piece that is not being talked about when it relates to Medicare reform.

We are hearing all the attack ads about Medicare and we are being accused of just the most cold-blooded actions that anyone could conceive of, putting our seniors on the street, et cetera. Nonsense. Clear scare tactics designed to prey on a very vulnerable population.

I say, put those attacks aside. Who is talking about what our alternatives are? What happens if we do not do what we are trying to do? Let me tell you the options. I say this to an audience, Anybody here in favor of cutting benefits? Nobody responds.

How about doubling or tripling payroll taxes? And have we forgotten that barely 2 years ago the administration had a request on the table in the Committee on Ways and Means to increase payroll taxes by 10 cents a dollar of wages? I say, Anybody here think that increasing payroll taxes or doubling or tripling them is going to solve the problem?

That would just be wonderful for employment, because what also happened in the middle of this debate is AT&T laid off 40,000 workers, and across the country it has become an epidemic for large companies and small companies to realize they cannot afford to pay the tax burden and the liability burden that Government is imposing on them for the workers they are hiring.

Mr. SHAYS. So what is the bottom line?

Mr. LONGLEY. First let me tell what the third option is. We ruled out cutting benefits, we ruled out increasing payroll taxes. If anything, we said, we need to reduce payroll taxes and lower the tax burden, particularly on working people.

The third option is, we will borrow the money. We will borrow our way out of the crisis. Then I tell them that do you know that we are going to be spending more money on interest on the Federal debt in the next 7 years than anyone is going to spend on Medicare?

Of course we reject those three options out of hand because not a single one of them deals with the real problem. In fact, every single one of those measures creates more problems than it solves.

I say we settle on the one choice that made the most sense, which is make the tough decisions to reform the program, create options for senior citizens, protect those who want Medicare but give other choices, and that if we give more power—and this is a radical idea for this city—if we give senior citizens the right to make choices about their own health care, I mean, the very idea that we are going to give the beneficiaries of a program the right

to make choices, and I describe to people in Maine that in Washington that is sacrilege.

Mr. SHAYS. If the gentleman will yield, the bottom line is we did the heavy lifting with a lot of programs, but in some cases, and particularly with Medicare, we have a better program and yet we save about \$240 billion. We do it by not increasing the copayment, not increasing the deductible, not increasing the premium for Medicare Part B. The seniors should have still paid 31.5 percent, which is what they paid last year. That is what we said, just keep it at that rate.

We did say that the very wealthy in our society would pay more for Medicare. If you make more than \$125,000 of taxable income, you would pay more for Medicare Part B.

Then we get into how are we able to make the savings? By, as the gentleman has pointed out, giving seniors choice. They are allowed to go into a variety of private health care plans. We still keep Medicare. No one has to leave. But we allow seniors to get private care, and the private care has to be as good or better, otherwise they are not allowed to participate. They cannot offer seniors less service and charge them less. They have to provide equal to or better, and the way they are going to attract them is by providing eye care or dental care, prescription drugs, allow copayment rebate or deductible rebate or even give MediGap.

Mr. LONGLEY. If the gentleman will yield, more astounding, we are actually increasing spending on the program, in that the average payment per beneficiary this year is \$4,800 a year and within 7 years it is going to exceed \$7,000 a year. That is actually a healthier rate of increase than the administration itself proposed.

What we are going to be doing, and this is what will save the program, is that we will be running it more efficiently, managing it better, giving more people control over their health care and eliminating a lot of fraud and waste, particularly as it relates to unduly burdensome regulatory structures. We are going to run a better program, we are going to be providing more money for the beneficiaries, they are going to have more choices and, frankly, we will be able to do it in a manner that will bring revenues in line with expenses.

Mr. SHAYS. Before the gentleman yields to my colleague, I just want to make sure that we cover this, because we do not want any senior to think that they have to participate in choice. They can keep their traditional fee-for-service, their 1960 Blue Cross/Blue Shield model. If they choose to get into private care and they do not like it, they have 24 months, each and every month within these next 2 years, they can get out of the private care and right back under the system they had.

I know my colleague wanted to speak.

Mr. NEUMANN. Just a couple of things on this. I think all of this discussion about what is happening in Medicare, I just reemphasize that if our seniors do nothing, they keep Medicare as they know it today.

A lot of times people forget that our friends and our own parents are on Medicare, and they forget how concerned we are about the senior citizens we know. When I jog with George, a good friend of mine, he talks to me about his mother. When I ride to basketball games with Tom, where our kids play on the same team, we talk about his parents and we talk about the meaning of Medicare to these senior citizens.

□ 1730

Somewhat in this whole discussion we lose the fact that we care a lot. We have a responsibility. It is like this with Medicare today. They are writing out checks for more money than they have in their checkbook. We all know they cannot keep doing that.

We have a responsibility to George's parents and to Tom's parents and to George and Tom and our responsibility to these people, to the people we represent, is to make sure we do not allow this system to go bankrupt so their parents can continue to receive these benefits.

We would be totally out of line to allow the Medicare system just to continue down the road it is going down right now. I care too much about Tom's parents and George's parents and the other parents like them across our district.

Mr. LONGLEY. Not only that, it is clear that we have people in this city who have made a career out of taking more and more and more money from the public for their purposes, not for the public's purposes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I think there are a lot of people watching maybe that are saying, well, look, you are the Congress of the United States. You have the majority. Why do you not do it? What has happened is Congress has given away the ability to control spending over the last 40 years. We have, in effect, passed into law so-called entitlement programs that say the money is going to be there automatically without being appropriated on a yearly basis from Congress, and so into these laws of food stamps and AFDC—

Mr. SHAYS. Basically, it is half the budget.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The blue part represents these welfare entitlement programs. A majority of Congress cannot reduce these programs and change spending without the consent of the President, and the President has now vetoed changes in the Food Stamp Program. The President has now vetoed changes in the work requirement in the welfare program.

Mr. NEUMANN. Just to comment on that, it is very important for the American people to know that on that half where we do not get to vote on it, spending went this year from last year to this year, went up by \$46 billion. That money is spent and it is gone. We have no control over that, no vote over that. It went up \$46 billion. Contrast that to the part that we do have control over, about \$500 billion out of a \$1.6 trillion; that went down by \$14 billion.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Let me show you where that is on this little pie chart. That is the little red section on this pie chart that represents the 12 appropriation bills other than the defense appropriation bills. This is where Congress has control. If we do not pass the appropriation, if the President vetoes it, there is no money there, so we have been unsuccessful here, and by the year 2002, we are going to see the welfare entitlement portion of this budget grow to almost 60 percent, and then you have got the interest on the national debt. The service, paying the interest on the national debt, is also on automatic pilot unless we follow what these gentlemen have been saying and we started reducing the rate of increase in spending.

Mr. SHAYS. If the gentleman will yield, the bottom line is this: As you point out, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. NEUMANN], 50 percent of the budget is on automatic pilot. It is entitlement. We do get to vote on it, but if we do not vote on it, it stays the same, and so Congress simply never voted on it.

I have been in Congress since 1987. I never got to vote on changes. The majority party never wanted to change the entitlements and to control their growth. So I never had an opportunity to vote.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Up until now, in the Balanced Budget Act.

Mr. SHAYS. Up until now, with the balanced budget, for the first time, this is the Congress that is willing to take on the heavy lifting of controlling 50 percent of the budget that is basically on automatic pilot. We voted on a third, as the gentleman pointed out so well, those appropriation items, defense and nondefense, that come out of appropriations. There is the 15 to 16 percent of interest on the national debt which we do not vote on. We have been voting since I have been here on a third of the budget, trying to control it. For the first time, we are trying to control the entitlements. All we are trying to do is slow their growth to 5, 6, 7 percent a year. We are not cutting them. We are allowing them to increase. That is just bottom-line issue.

You know, I would love to just get into this issue. I would like your reaction, I have been here now for about 9 years, and I am seeing good men and women not run again, and some of them have very real personal reasons. I

just want to express my concern about some of them.

I happen to think of myself as a moderate Republican. I think of myself as a centrist in terms of my ideology. I like to think of myself as passionately moderate. I am in the center. I am seeing some of my fellow moderates quit. They say this is not a fun place anymore. I am thinking to myself, with all due respect, when has it ever really been a fun place? I get up in the morning and say I have one of the best jobs in the world. To call it a fun place, I have never known it to be a fun place.

Now, to listen to them further, you know, people are getting nasty with each other. I see that. I mean, to the public this must look like a food fight when really what it is about is some very heavy lifting about whether we end those obscene debts and annual deficits that we have, whether we stop adding to the national debt, and this is what my colleagues are saying. I think the Senator from New Jersey, even your own Senator, with all respect; in my judgment, they have participated in our getting deeper and deeper and deeper in debt by their silence, in some cases, by their willingness not to step and stand out and say no more, we are going to call the question.

So now that we are deeper in debt and we are clawing our way to get out of this means, people are quitting, and then some, not your Senator, but some Senators have said, "You know, now I can be honest with the American people. I can tell them now, since I am not running again." And I am thinking, why did you not just be honest with them when you were a candidate? Tell the American people the truth. They will have you do the right thing.

So I just wanted to express some disappointment with some very good people who are leaving, and my take on it is they are leaving now that we have got to do heavy lifting, now that we have got to confront seniors, young people and everyone else and say, you know, we have got to address this issue. Some things you may not like, but we have got to do it for the sake of our country. I do not know if any of you have had that same reaction.

Has this place been a fun place? No. Is it going to be a fun place? No. Do we have heavy lifting? Yes. Are we deep in the hole? You darn right, and we are clawing our way to get out of the hole.

Mr. LONGLEY. I think you are making an outstanding point. This is one of the reasons I went back and looked back over these 16 years of legislation. Literally, of these 16 acts, at different times the Democratic Party supported 12 of the 16 acts, and the Republican Party supported 12.

Mr. SHAYS. Both parties, not just one.

Mr. LONGLEY. That is exactly it.

Now, you look in the early 1980's in spending, 1981, spending went up almost 15 percent; 1982, 10 percent; 1983,

Mr. SHAYS. The point is we are not blaming parties. But now we have a chance.

Mr. LONGLEY. Not only, this is particularly with respect to the current debate and the impasse between the administration and the Congress, and clearly, as the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] pointed out, the President has vetoed welfare reform. He has vetoed a balanced budget. He has vetoed literally every significant initiative that we are trying to bring to the table to deal with this crisis, and the easiest thing in the world for us to do would be to pretend the crisis does not exist, to just cook up some, come to some agreement even though philosophically we are miles apart on some issues, we come to some common ground, and we have editorial writers across the country hailing our bipartisanship, the television crews showing up and just we are all standing there smiling at each other and patting each other on the back.

But the bottom line is, when we leave here, our kids are paying the bill. I am not willing to do that.

Mr. NEUMANN. That is really the point. We keep talking about the debt and deficit. It is not about the debt and the deficit. It is about a moral and ethical responsibility that our generation has to stop doing what has been going on for the last 15 or 20 years. This is a moral, ethical, it is a values problem in our country. What kind of a society would be willing to spend their children's money? Ask yourself, what kind of society would do that? It is a moral and ethical responsibility to stop the growth of this debt.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. If the gentleman will yield, I would suggest this borrowing obscures the true size of Government. You know, if people have to pay their taxes to afford this huge bureaucracy, they would be saying, wait a minute, but we have somehow, politicians have discovered if they borrow this money and say somehow, well, we will pay this back later, our kids and our grandkids are going to have to do it, but what we have done is we have had a Government become larger and larger, and the bureaucracy so big now that almost half my time as a congressman is spent being an ombudsman to help people move through this political maze of this huge overbloomed Government. If we stop borrowing and people have to start digging into their pockets for this size of a Government, they will say, no, wait a minute.

Mr. LONGLEY. We cannot even go, to go just one step beyond what you are saying, most people cannot even afford the tax burden now, even though we are not even paying for the entire Government. That is the difficulty we are trying to confront.

Mr. NEUMANN. I would just add, if you would be interested, I have one more chart left.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. We like your charts.

Mr. NEUMANN. Would you like to know how much more an American family of four would have had to pay in taxes over the last 15 years in taxes in order to pay their share of what the Government spent? If the Government were to break even over the last 15 to 20 years, an average family of four in America would have had to spend or pay to the Federal Government \$76,000 more in taxes over that period of time if our generation had paid for what they bought through this.

Mr. SHAYS. That is a great illustration of why it did not happen. There is no way a family of four would have tolerated paying \$76,000.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Now, the little young tots in that family of four are going to be obligated to account for that money later on in their lives. No. 1, it is immoral. No. 2, balancing the budget is going to strengthen the economy.

Mr. NEUMANN. That is what this chart is showing. This is showing our total debt as of right now. This is the amount they borrowed per person, \$19,100 for every man, woman and child in America, which has been borrowed basically over the last 15 years. The kicker on this chart is really the bottom line. The bottom line is our family of four today has to pay \$440 a month just to pay the interest on the Federal debt. It is not for any goods or services, not for Medicare, Medicaid, or any of the rest. The family of four today has to pay \$440 a month just to pay interest on the Federal debt.

I always like to reduce it down to what the actual impact is on my friends and our constituents across our districts, and that really is what it translates into. A lot of times they say, "I don't pay that much in taxes." I would like to remind, every time we walk in the store and buy a loaf of bread, that store owner makes a small profit on the loaf of bread bought in the store. When the store owner makes a small profit on it, some of that profit comes in here to the Federal Government in the form of taxes. When it is all added up, they are paying, in fact, paying that \$440 a month.

Mr. LONGLEY. This comes back to the point the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. SHAYS] made so well several minutes ago, that the easiest thing in the world any of us can do is say, well, we are going to create a program. Sure, we will give you more money, even though you are getting increases and spending, we will double the rate of increase. We can all look like heroes until the American public has got to show up with the tax dollars to pay for it or to deal with the mess that we have created.

Mr. SHAYS. One reason I like my community meetings, I call it my community test, if I have got to go to my

community in a community meeting, I have got to tell them what we are doing, and if it does not pass, you know, if I cannot pass it through my constituents in a community meeting, I do not vote for it. There is no way I can justify seeing what has happened in the last 22 years, and my constituents have told me almost to a person, "You get a handle on this Federal budget. You stop the obscene annual deficits." Revenue is here, spending is here, at the end of that year the deficit is added to the national debt; they want us to end it. That is what we are going to do.

I mean we have three objectives. We want to get our financial house in order and balance the Federal budget. We want to save our trust funds, particularly Medicare, from bankruptcy, and we want to transform this social and corporate welfare state into a true caring opportunity society. We are not going to give up.

I noticed, you know, I just am in awe of my freshmen. I mean, I wish I could be an honorary freshman. I know you all have taken some criticism, but my take on what you have done is you basically watched what we have done and said, "I can't believe it." Men and women have run and owned businesses, and you said, "You know I am going to end this." You do not care if you get reelected, and that is your strength. If you do not care whether you get reelected, you are going to do the right thing, and I tell my people, thank God for the freshmen.

Mr. NEUMANN. If the gentleman will yield, we are nearing the end of the time. I want to close my part by reminding us all this is still the greatest country in the world. Sure, we have got some problems. As a country, we have had problems before. What is going on out here right now is a new era in America, and we have started down the right path here toward restoring this great country of ours.

I have 100 percent confidence that we together, the people that are here, along with the American people out there, are going to restore this great Nation of ours. I have a lot of faith in the future of this country. I know we are going to make a great country to pass on to our children and to our grandchildren.

Mr. SHAYS. I just would like to thank both of you. You claimed the time, and I thank the gentleman from Maine for doing that and just say that we do live in the greatest country in the world, and we are going to save it. I mean, we are not going to listen to polls. The polls are not going to guide us. We are going to do the right thing. If Abraham Lincoln had listened to polls, we would not be one Nation under God, indivisible. We would be two nations very much divided. We are going to stay one Nation, and we are going to pursue this.

Mr. LONGLEY. Just to end on that note, I think it is easy to forget we as a country have faced greater crises in the past. We are going to face greater crises in the future. What we have learned as a country, and particularly I know the senior population understands this, the generation that confronted the depression, that confronted World War II, that put an end to the world fascism and another generation that put an end to world communism, yes, we have had some big crises to deal with. We have identified the problem. We have looked at the options. We have acted to get the problem dealt with, and we move on.

I am very confident that we are going to deal with the issues we need to deal with and that the public realize that it is in their best interests, and we are going to move forward.

I thank the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. NEUMANN], the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. SHAYS], and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] for your participation tonight.

□ 1745

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HUTCHINSON). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. MALONEY] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mrs. MALONEY. Mr. Speaker, today I am honored to rise with some of my colleagues in this special order to celebrate International Women's Day. This day is a celebration borne out of the fighting spirit of the women's labor movement in the great city that I am honored to represent, New York City.

International Women's Day was born in 1857 when women from the garment and textile industry in New York City staged a demonstration protesting low wages, 12 hour workdays, and increasing workloads. It is the perfect day to call for equal rights for women, equal pay for women, equal representation for women, equal treatment for women, and expanded health care for women and all Americans.

I have called this special order today to pay tribute to women, past and present, who fight every day for improved working conditions and equal rights and treatment for women.

Mr. Speaker, with this in mind, we come together today to celebrate our gains. Already this year we have celebrated the 75th anniversary of women gaining the right to vote, the 23d anniversary of Roe versus Wade, the coming together of over 30,000 women from 190 different countries at the fourth U.N. World Conference for Women in Beijing, and the first Women's Expo held here in Washington, DC.

We celebrate these successes at a time when we face the most hostile,

antiwoman Congress that I can remember, a Congress more antifamily, antichoice, antiurban, antiworker, and antienvironment, than any in recent history. In short, this Congress is a disaster for women.

In the first 6 months, we voted in this House of Representatives and passed 12 antichoice bills. But the impact of these actions in this Congress really came home in a very personal way recently. I received a notice from the Government in the mail. It said that abortion services are no longer covered under my health insurance plan. It was one small notice in the mail, but one giant step back for reproductive freedom in the United States. The letter, marked in a very personal way for hundreds and thousands of employees of the first widespread practical impact of the 104th Congress' multifaceted assault on a woman's right to choose. Thanks to extremists in the 104th Congress, U.S. military hospitals, both here and overseas, are now prohibited by law from performing abortions. In other words, women who are stationed here and overseas busily protecting our rights, while in this Congress we have been busily removing theirs.

The House also passed an amendment denying Medicaid-funded abortions for victims of rape and incest. For poor women, this would make fathers out of rapists. If that were not enough, on March 15, when the current continuing resolution will expire, we will effectively zero out funding for international family planning programs, denying hundreds of thousands of women around the world their only source of health care.

Conservative estimates show that this reduction is much more than a loss of money. It means that over 7 million couples will lose access to modern contraceptive methods, and, for many, health care services.

In other actions, the new majority suspended Federal responsibility for the women, infants, and children nutrition program, and eliminated \$2 billion in school lunches and Aid to Families with Dependent Children programs.

Tomorrow, this Congress will be marking up, or marching backward, the affirmative action bill, which has opened tightly held doors to so many women and minorities. They will be attempting to roll back affirmative action.

When we consider the losses I have listed and those in our scorecard on women's issues, which we will release tomorrow, we might feel better served with a wake today instead of a celebration. Today we celebrate to remind each other that the obstacles we face are real, but we will succeed in enacting legislation which will counter the antiwoman actions of the 104th Congress. We will introduce shortly and hopefully pass the Women's Health Equity Act and the Economic Equity Act.

We will restore funding to International Family Planning and the Children programs. We will succeed, because we have the power of the vote. Women in this country will use their vote in the upcoming elections to turn around this antiwoman Congress' actions.

We do have winning strategies to build on. We need to look back to the energy and promise of the 1995 U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. Over 6,000 Americans and 30,000 women attended this conference—190 countries ratified the platform for action. Although it was not legally binding, it is certainly politically binding and important that so many governments spoke in support of women's rights and a specific plan to achieve equality.

Along with 53 of my colleagues, I have introduced House Resolution 119, which supports the seven United States commitments as introduced by Ambassador Madeleine Albright. The time has come to mobilize and energize. We must enact the U.S. commitments and the platform for action into law to put women in the winning column.

Included in the commitments are initiatives which would launch a powerful program to end domestic violence and crimes against women with full funding, and an all-out assault on the threats to the health and well-being of women. Today we introduced H.R. 2893, the Kennedy-Kassebaum-Roukema bill, which represents the minimum that can be done to provide additional health security to all American people. It would cover preexisting conditions and provide for portability of health care, making increased availability of health care to all Americans. Today we gained 170 cosponsors for the legislation, and we are hopeful that it will pass.

Third, a strong commitment to protecting women's reproductive health and the right to choose; grassroots programs to assure that women make much more than the 72 cents to every dollar a man earns today by fighting for equal pay and assistance in balancing family and work; plans to enhance economic empowerment and economic equality for women; and, finally, enforcement of women's legal rights and a drive to increase women's political participation.

I must say that in this Congress we have heard a lot of talk about quotas and the need to end affirmative action, but I would like to talk about one quota, and that is the representation of women. Although we are well over 50 percent of the population, we are still only 10 percent of this elected body and only 6 percent of management positions in the private industry. This needs to be changed.

In response to the Beijing conference, President Clinton established the Interagency Task Force on Women,

which, along with other advocacy groups, including Bella Abzug's group, WEDO, are working hard to implement the platform for action. The 12 planks in the platform for action, combined with the seven U.S. commitments, could succeed in counteracting the new majority's all-out assault on American women. The platform for action was agreed to by 190 countries, and it is a strong statement when 190 countries and their governments endorse this platform.

The platform will unify women at all levels and move forward with positive change. The platform goes further than the U.S. commitments by calling for the empowerment of women, sharing of family responsibilities, ending the burden of poverty for women and children, high-quality affordable health care, sexual and reproductive rights, workplace rights, educational equity, ending violence, protecting a healthy environment, women as peacemakers, ratifying the convention to end all forms of discrimination against women, and a long-term platform for achieving equality.

Mr. Speaker, today we commemorate the International Women's Day. We celebrate because the same thing the new majority fears, women's potential power, will help us to succeed. In honor of International Women's Day, we will reintroduce and reissue the scorecard on women's issues tomorrow to inform the public on how people have voted in this Congress on women's issues and family issues and children issues, and we must hold those in power more accountable for their antiwomen actions.

We intend to have score cards produced and given out on every single Member of Congress on how they have voted on women and children issues. We stand together tonight and we will come together tomorrow, and we will work each and every day to remind the extremist majority that women are neither marginal nor a minority. The rights we have gained are significant, but they are only steps in a long march toward equality of rights for all women.

Today we celebrate International Women's Day. I would like to end with the words of Eleanor Roosevelt when she talked about change, when she talked about getting things done for women, children, and families. She said, "It is up to the women."

Mr. Speaker, I recognize the gentlewoman from California [Ms. WOOLSEY], who is the author of many important bills in the Women's Equity Act and the Women's Empowerment Act, and many other areas we have been working on.

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank my colleague for yielding this time and for organizing this special order. She has done a wonderful job in supporting women internationally, and will continue to speak out

around the globe and here in our own country.

Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague, CAROLYN MALONEY, for yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, this Friday is "International Women's Day." I come before you today to celebrate one-half of the world's population. I come to pay tribute to women of every nation who care for their families, contribute to their work places, and make their communities stronger. They are true heroes, and deserve our recognition.

Mr. Speaker, it has been over 6 months since the U.N. Sixth World Conference on Women took place in Beijing. At this conference, leaders from around the globe laid out a plan of action for improving the economic, social, educational, health, and political status of women worldwide.

A key plank of that document is ratification of the United Nations' Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, or CEDAW, as this treaty is commonly known.

CEDAW, which was drafted at the first women's conference in Mexico City in 1975, holds governments responsible for working to eliminate all forms of discrimination against all women.

To date, CEDAW has been ratified by 144 countries, with one notable exception—the United States. Can you believe it?

The United States, the world's greatest superpower and staunchest defender of human rights, continues to represent the only industrialized democracy failing to take this important stand for women's rights.

On behalf of all women around the world—in Africa, Europe, Asia, and in the Americas—I invite my colleagues to join over 60 other Members of the House in support of House Resolution 220, which urges the Senate to pass CEDAW this Congress.

Let's make the 21st century the first century free from state sanctioned discrimination against women. Let's make International Women's Day meaningful. Let's pass CEDAW now.

□ 1800

Mrs. MALONEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to recognize one of our Nation's leading experts on constitutional rights, the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia, Ms. ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON.

Ms. NORTON. I thank the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. MALONEY] for her kind words. I especially thank her for her leadership in calling our attention and summoning us to the floor this evening in celebration of Women's History Month and of International Women's Day on Friday.

We are obligated, Mr. Speaker, I believe, to use these occasions not just as opportunities to talk. We need, I think, to use them to re-energize ourselves about issues that are important to us

that can be solved and that, at least in the 104th Congress, have been stalled. There is still time to keep the 104th Congress from being known as the unfeminist Congress or the antifeminist Congress where the losses will be recorded by history over the wins.

More than 30 years after women's consciousness took hold in this country, I continue to believe on either side of the aisle that is where Members want to be. Yet if we look closely, we will find what I call take-backs, because they certainly aren't give-backs, losses from where we had come and where we must head.

I am very appreciative that so many Members have signed onto the omnibus bill to carry out the seven U.S. commitments at the Beijing conference and that so many have signed onto the individual bills sponsored by individual Members. This tradition now in the House from among women especially of combining women's legislation into a single bill has the advantage of focusing us on where the greatest need is and offering Members and the public an opportunity to see what we must do and what legislation is most pressing at a given moment in time.

I am pleased that in this country we celebrate International Women's Day, as well. There must be solidarity among women across the world. In every country, women occupy the second place, not the equal place, even in this country where women have made tremendous strides for more than 30 years. We take note of those strides, even as we note also that there is real backsliding today and that women simply must halt it, must reestablish the momentum that is associated with women's rights in this country.

Only 33 years ago, we got the first women's rights legislation in the 20th century, the Equal Pay Act. As a former chair of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, I have seen in great detail how the law has worked to the advantage of women in the United States. I note that the law has had less, a lesser effect in other countries, because the law is not as often associated with vehicles to bring progress. Yet, we are grateful for what has happened with affirmative action, with title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, with the interpretation of courts. We are still living in the period when the courts for the first time have indicated that the 14th amendment requirement of equal protection of the law applies to women.

If you were alive in the 1960's, you lived to see or were a part of a country that for the first time indicated that women had to be treated equally under law. We are still living, therefore, in a breakthrough era for women in this country. There have been big, big take-backs in this Congress. Some of the worst have been in an area that is most

vital to women, their personal reproductive rights.

I mourn what we have done in the area of abortion. I can only mourn it. I will not chronicle it, because it is a long list, indeed.

I regret that women in the military lose the protection of their country if they become pregnant and desire to have an abortion at the hand of the 104th Congress. Surely we must regret it, as well, for women who are serving their country. I regret that women in prisons at the hand of the 104th Congress, may not have an abortion unless they have funds to pay for it. I regret the withholding of funds for international family planning, which has virtually destroyed those programs. I regret the criminalizing of partial birth abortions and what a huge step that measures from where we had come on choice.

I regret the proposal that the States no longer provide Medicaid for victims of rape and incest. These seem to me to be unusually cruel provisions, and I hope they are an indication in this Women's History month that no right acquired is permanent without permanent vigilance. These are rights we will reacquire, but surely International Women's Day and Women's History Month must energize us so that we are not left at the end of the 104th Congress with less than we came in with.

Included in the omnibus bill is one of my bills, the Fair Pay Act. This bill could not be more germane today. Indeed, I invite Members to note that on March 13, I am conducting a special order on women's wages. There has been a focus on angry white men and, indeed, on angry men because of what has happened to men's wages in an era when manufacturing has shifted offshore, where men are increasingly outside of the labor force, and where women are at work not only because many desire to work, but because they are either critical to the family income or the only family income.

We would do well then, as well, to focus on what has happened to the income of women. We note with pride that there is a narrowing of the gap in wages between men and women until we look closely at how that gap has narrowed. We find that the gap has narrowed largely for professional women and women who are highly skilled, at the entry level, and at the entry level only. As we go up the ranks, the gap widens and reappears, and we note that the average woman is right where she was. A very large part of the gap has narrowed because men have fallen, not because women have risen, because men have lost income, because men are outside of the labor force. Women do not want to narrow the gap in that way.

It is interesting to note that the Equal Pay Act itself, which requires that women doing the same or similar

work be paid the same as men, does not allow an employer to equalize men and women's wages by bringing down men's wages. So if one goes into a business and finds that there is unequal pay of men and women doing the same job, the employer has to bring up the pay of women, rather than bring down the pay of men.

Mr. Speaker, I say to my colleagues, the way in which women have gained over the last 30 years has been in very large part because the pay of men has come down, not by operation of law but by operation of the economy. What that means for the average woman in the work force is that the gap is right where it was and that the Equal Pay Act has done just about all it can do. The rest will require a sharper remedy.

In my Fair Pay Act, I offer that sharper remedy where a woman doing comparable work would have to be paid the same as a man doing comparable work. The burden would be on the woman to demonstrate that the difference in wage between her and the man is due to discrimination and not to ordinary market forces. That is a heavy burden. But the burden of proving discrimination is always on the complainant, and here it must be on the complainant as well.

My colleagues will note that the fact that the woman has to establish that the wage differences between herself and a man doing comparable work is because of discriminations and not because of market forces means that my bill will not interfere with the ordinary operation of the market. I discuss my bill only as the one I know best and as one of the many excellent bills in our omnibus bill.

While there is still time, while the 104th Congress is still making history, I call upon my colleagues to make sure that it does not make negative history; to make sure that women and men and families will not remember the 104th for take-backs but for gains; to make sure that the 104th has something positive to say to American families about half of the family, or in the very many instances, the family itself that has a wage earner that is a woman.

Even where there has been consensus among us on women's issues, we often have not made the progress that I believe all of us surely intended, for example, on domestic violence. There is a consensus on both sides of the aisle that this ancient issue finally is ripe for mitigation and elimination. While indeed we were able to get an appropriation that is respectable, the fact is that all of us who have worked hard on this issue are saddened that we have not made the great leap forward, that this most basic of issues requires.

So in this Women's History Month and the year 1996, the year of the 104th Congress, may we leave it with more to celebrate than we find on March 8, International Women's Day. May we

remember that we have days only for issues or almost only or largely for issues that need special exposure because of special problems that obtain that we, therefore, dedicate this International Woman's Day to women all over the world and to the forward gains and momentum promised in Beijing and our own country. We who are Members of this body use this day and this month to move forward women's issues at a time when we still can make the 104th Congress truly memorable and truly bipartisan on women's issues.

I very much thank the gentlewoman for her leadership and for yielding to me.

Mrs. MALONEY. Mr. Speaker, I would now like to recognize the former Governor of Puerto Rico, the gentleman from Puerto Rico [Mr. ROMERO-BARCELÓ].

□ 1815

Mr. ROMERO-BARCELÓ. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to salute women as we commemorate the International Women's Day and the Women's History Month.

Since the United Nations held the first world conference on women 20 years ago, significant progress has been made towards achieving equality between women and men. Women's access to education and proper health care has increased, their participation in the paid labor force has grown and legislation that promises equal opportunities for women and respect for their human rights has been adopted in more countries. All these endeavors contributed to the improvement of women's rights and important changes have occurred in the relationship between women and men.

Yet, despite these efforts, the discrimination women have suffered solely because of their gender has been pervasive. Violence against women remains a global problem. Women's equal access to resources is still restricted and their opportunities for higher education and training are concentrated in limited fields. Decisions that affect women continue to be made largely by men.

Unfortunately, in some instances, our legal system has entrenched the subordinate status of women. These attitudes have contributed to the perpetuation of stereotypes which must be eliminated for they only contribute to all types of violence against women. Today I invite you to join women in their request to live in peace and to be recognized as equal citizens with equal rights and opportunities.

As we all know, women fought a long and difficult battle to achieve universal suffrage; a basic tenet of democracy. For the past 97 years, Puerto Rico has been and still is a territory, or a colony, of the United States. The island is home to 3.7 million U.S. citizens, of whom more than half are

women, who are disenfranchised and deprived of participating in the democratic process of this Nation. Universal suffrage does not exist in Puerto Rico. While we preach the virtues of democracy throughout the world, the United States still maintains the largest colony in the world. U.S. citizens who are excluded from our Nation's democratic process and who are denied the right to vote and the right to representation.

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, adopted unanimously at the Fourth World Conference on Women by representatives from 189 countries, reflects a new international commitment to the goals of equality, development and peace for all women everywhere.

As a result, the world now has a comprehensive action plan to enhance the social, economic and political empowerment of women, improve their education and training.

The platform for action, a 362-paragraph document that recommends actions on 12 critical areas of concern considered the main obstacles to women's advancement and builds on the accomplishments made since the first U.N. Conference on Women.

Today, I exhort women to rise and demand equality. Today I urge Congress to sustain our commitment to women. Today, I remind nations of the world to keep on struggling to build a gender respectful society.

Mrs. MALONEY. Mr. Speaker, I would now like to yield to the gentlewoman from Ohio, Ms. MARCY KAPTUR, who has been a strong fighter for increased wages, increased job opportunities for all working women and men.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. MALONEY] for taking the leadership today in commemoration of International Women's Day, which is March 8, this Friday, and also during this month of March, Women's History Month.

So often, I guess, I have to think back to the whole history of the country. There have only been about 165 women that have ever served in the Congress of the United States out of over 11,700 persons that have been elected to the Congress of the United States. So it has not been but until very recently that women have been able to discuss not just the plight of men in this country and children but also of themselves, the issues of concern to working women here in our country, which is the vast majority of women of all ages, as well as women around the world.

I want to thank the Congresswoman from the great city of New York for taking the leadership on this and helping us put on the record on behalf of women everywhere helping us be a voice for them. I must begin with entering into the RECORD an article from the New York Times of February 21 of

this year called *Squeezing the Textile Workers*. It is just an excellent story by John Holusha, and it is situated in Pisgah, AL, P-I-S-G-A-H. I have never visited there.

It talks and it has a magnificent picture, compelling picture of two women, Martha Smith, saying goodbye to her fellow coworker in that town at a plant called Andover Togs, where she and approximately 100 other workers, largely women, lost their jobs sewing children's clothing.

If I could describe this picture to you, I am sure that most Americans who have gone through this understand. They were saying goodbye to one another and facing a very unknown future. She was quoted as saying, "There are no more textile jobs around here, they are all going to Mexico and overseas." Ms. Smith, who has lost 3 jobs due to plant closings, seems to have the evidence on her side. Two other sewing mills in this region of northern Alabama closed at about the same time, sending 550 people, mostly women, into the local labor market.

In many of these towns, there just are not any other jobs to go to. So often we hear, these jobs are low skill jobs; these are not the high technology jobs of the future. If anyone has ever made a dress or have done it by hand or if you have done it with a machine or if you have ever sewn pearls on a wedding dress in a pattern, I would like to see the President of the United States do that. I would like to see most of the Members of this body do that. There is not any job that takes more skill, more concentration, more attention to detail than the sewing arts, because in fact they are the arts.

And for those people that work on machines, which many of these women do, the speed at which they have to work with piece work in order to get paid is a speed beyond which most people in this society have never had to work. And they work very, very hard for a living. Many of them get carpal tunnel just in that one industry because they work so hard. Many of them being immigrants, many women it is their first job that they have really had after high school or after going through school. And many of them are the sole support of their families.

So tonight we pay tribute to them and we say to them that we know who you are. And we understand the important jobs that you have done for the people of this country, and we think it is very wrong that those jobs are being outsourced elsewhere by corporations that do not value you as much as we value you in this country. And really, it is not your fault. A lot of women go home at the end of the day and think, gee, I lost my job because I did not try hard enough. Yet they have very good work records. Many of them have children at home. They have husbands. They have houses to keep. And yet

they go to work every day, many times when they do not feel well, and they have done this throughout the history of this country.

If you look at what has been happening over the last 20 years, what has been happening to them is so unfair, so unfair. The last 20 years, the entry level wages of women with high school educations has gone down 20 percent. That means the harder they work, the fact that they are providing many times the income that makes the difference between that family being able to survive or not survive, they are getting paid less for it. And even women who have gone to college are now earning 7 percent less than their counterparts did 20 years ago.

So the stress that families feel and particularly women who still largely have the child rearing responsibilities, taking care of the home when they get home from work, even though that responsibility is more shared now, there is just a great deal of pressure on them.

If it had not been for women going into the workplace, even though many of them do not want to be there today but they have to be, family incomes would have gone right through the floor. And now they are barely treading water just keeping even. If you look at where women have had the most pressure on them, where they have been losing jobs to international trade because of unfair trade laws, they are in fields like electrical machinery and electronics, apparel, which I have just talked about, the food processing industry like the women workers in Watsonville, CA, who worked so very hard for Green Giant. They then put all those women out of work and replaced them with very cheap labor in Mexico, where the women do not earn enough to buy the frozen foods that they manufacture. And in fact they cannot even afford a small refrigerator in their homes. Many of them do not have electricity. Yet those women are being exploited in Mexico while our women lose their jobs here in this country.

If you look at NAFTA, since the passage of NAFTA, of the hundreds and hundreds of thousands of jobs lost in our country, about a third of those were held by women, many in the apparel industries.

We know, just because of GATT and NAFTA, we have had upwards of 85,000 women lost their jobs in apparel and 30,000 women in textiles. And it is not because people in this country are not working hard. Americans work harder than any other people in the world, including overtime. We have the fewest vacation days. I think only one other nation, the Japanese, work a few more hours a week than we do. So it is not that people here are not trying very hard.

I want to thank Congresswoman MALONEY. I just will end with this statement: That among the laws of our

country that are so important in giving women equal pay for equal work and the wage and hour laws that control overtime compensation and how many hours people can work, those laws were passed during the 1930's. There was a great woman Congresswoman from New Jersey, from Jersey City, NJ, Mary Norton, who served here was responsible.

She actually chaired what was then called the Education and Labor Committee. So it was a woman from your part of the country, who grew up in very humble circumstances, who was responsible during those years for coming here to Congress, waiting her turn to serve as committee chair, and responsible for the most important labor laws that have helped working women and working men across this country for the better part of the century. So we owe a lot to the east coast. We owe a lot to the Manhattan-Jersey City nexus and to the great Congresswoman from Jersey City, Mary Norton, for helping us build a middle class in this country.

Congresswoman MALONEY, you walk in her footsteps, and I thank you tonight for allowing me to participate in this special order.

Mrs. MALONEY. I thank the gentlewoman very much. I would like to bring to your attention that Congresswoman NYDIA VELÁZQUEZ is working on many of the issues that you raised and in fact will be hosting a public hearing on March 11 in New York City with Secretary of Labor Robert Reich. I hope that you will be able to attend, as well as other Members of Congress, as we explore ways to protect jobs in the textile industry and expand wages for workers in America.

Ms. KAPTUR. I would very much like to be there. I want to compliment the First Lady, Hillary Clinton. I understand today she was in New York City somewhere sewing on a label, I hope it was a made in the USA label, to a garment in New York City. And we look forward to welcoming Secretary Reich to that very important hearing on sweatshops and what is happening to women workers in New York City who sew so many of the garments still made in this country that are worn by women across this country.

Thank you so very much for being a part of that and for the kind invitation.

Mr. Speaker, I include for the RECORD the article to which I referred.

[From the New York Times, Feb. 21, 1996]

SQUEEZING THE TEXTILE WORKER

(By John Holusha)

PISGAH, AL.—Martha Smith cried as she left the Dover Mills plant of Andover Togs Inc. on a Wednesday afternoon late in January. Along with approximately 100 other people, she had lost her job sewing children's clothing.

Now she is enrolled in a state-sponsored program to learn clerical skills. "There's no

more textile jobs around here," she said. "They are all going to Mexico and overseas."

Ms. Smith, who has lost three jobs due to plant closings, seems to have the evidence on her side. Two other sewing mills in this region of northern Alabama closed at about the same time, sending 550 people, most of them women, into the local labor market.

The layoffs are not just a regional phenomenon. After four years of stability, employment in the apparel industry took a sudden plunge last year, falling by more than 10 percent, to 846,000, from 945,000 at the end of 1994. An additional 42,000 jobs vanished in the fabrics industry, which produces the raw material to make clothing, for a total shrinkage of 141,000 jobs—40 percent of all manufacturing jobs lost in the United States last year.

Job losses like these provide grist to politicians with protectionist messages, especially in an election year. So while dismantling trade barriers benefits most consumers by lowering prices, it also deepens blue-collar anxieties in industries that are vulnerable to foreign competition.

The new wave of job losses in the apparel industry, coming as they did soon after the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement and the latest global trade accord, benefits candidates who say they want to save jobs and protect workers. Four years ago it was Ross Perot railing against free trade accords, and this year, the Republican populist, Patrick J. Buchanan, has enjoyed a surge in the polls with his attacks on free trade as a sellout of American labor.

And while textile-plant closings have been a fixture of the economic scene in the small towns of the South and Northeast for nearly a quarter-century, the recent hemorrhage of jobs, though predicted by many economists, is devastating some areas. It is driven by two forces—government policy, which encourages free trade with low-cost apparel exporters like Mexico and Malaysia, and high technology, which helps big, profitable textile companies produce more cloth with fewer workers.

"We have lost on the order of 500,000 jobs in apparel in the past 23 years and we will probably lose another 40,000 to 50,000 this year," said Carl Priestland, an economist with the American Apparel Manufacturers Association.

Most of the pain will be felt in small towns like Pisgah, named after the mountain that Moses climbed to get his first glimpse of the Promised Land. Locals fear that Andover Togs, Pisgah's biggest employer, will shut down its remaining operations, including lithography and engineering, in addition to the sewing plant it just closed. If that happens, 400 more jobs will disappear—and with them, the town's hopes for an economic recovery.

"I do a good business with people at the mill, so this is going to slow down the economy big time," said R.D. Mitchell, a former mayor who runs a Chevron service station that is one of the town's unofficial gathering spots. "There are a lot of people being pushed out of jobs within a 20-mile radius of here," he added. "People can't spend money they don't have."

For all the financial turmoil in textile workers' lives these days, the industry itself remains a huge and profitable sector of the American economy. Output has grown steadily, from \$32.8 billion in 1974, to \$56.3 billion in 1984 and to \$74.2 billion in 1994, the last year for which figures are available. Even after adjusting for inflation, the increase over the last two decades has been more than

33 percent. Profits in 1994 totaled \$1.74 billion, or 2.7 percent of sales, half the 5.4 profit margin for all manufacturing.

Broadly speaking, the textile trade consists of three sectors. Fiber manufacturers, the smallest of the three, spin cotton and other raw materials into threads for the fabric makers, which weave the threads into cloth for apparel producers to make into clothing.

While it is profitable, the continued prosperity of the industry hinges in large part on its ability to squeeze out as many American jobs as possible from the production process. The two main sectors—raw fabrics and finished clothing—achieve that goal in two very different ways, cutting labor costs and automation. And industry experts say that outside attempts to stanch the bleeding may do more harm than good.

Clothing manufacturers, swamped by a flood of cheap imports from Asia and elsewhere that have grabbed 50 percent of the American market, up from 20 percent two decades ago, stay profitable by exporting jobs to low-wage Latin American countries like Mexico and the Dominican Republic.

These companies have been unable to exploit America's vaunted technological superiority to offset their foreign rivals' wage advantage because no one has been able to develop an economical alternative to the old-fashioned sewing machine. Automated machines have a hard time handling soft, floppy cloth, and the vision-recognition systems needed to match patterns at seams, collars and cuffs are far too expensive for the low-margin apparel business.

In an integrated apparel factory, one that converts raw fabric to finished clothes, 50 percent of the jobs are sewing machine operators, 86 percent of whom are women. "You can automate design, you can automate pattern setting and cutting, but sooner or later you have to push fabric through a sewing machine," Mr. Priestland said. "That's still the bottleneck."

And that is where governmental policy comes in. Congressional approval of the North American and world trade accords in 1994 and 1995 made it much easier for American corporations to bring in goods from factories in third world countries, notably Mexico, by moving to eliminate quotas on imported apparel.

The search for cheap labor is nothing new. Many of the mills that are closing now migrated to impoverished regions of the rural South decades ago from the relatively prosperous Northeast. Even today, says David Thornell, director of the economic development authority of Jackson County, an economically depressed region that includes Pisgah, many of the factory workers here till the fields part time to make ends meet.

But with the factory idle, farming alone will not pay all the bills, and residents are bitter. "They pay those people down there a dollar and a nickel an hour," said Jim Mabry, another Pisgah resident. "Then they ship the clothes back here for finishing so they can call them American-made."

Andover Togs, which is based in New York, says it had little choice but to open its factory in the Dominican Republic. "I don't think we have ever seen a retail environment this sour," said Alan Kanis, the company's chief financial officer. He added that the company's major customers, discount chains like Wal-Mart and Kmart, were major importers, forcing the company to keep a tight rein on its costs.

David Buchanan, associate dean of the college of textiles at North Carolina State Uni-

versity, predicted more mills would shut down. The trend could turn out-of-the-way places like Pisgah into ghost towns, just as many farms villages in the upper Midwest faded into history when farming became mechanized.

"Historically, the role of the textile and apparel industry has been to provide employment for the otherwise unemployable," Mr. Buchanan said. "But that has been changing. If there is no work, the sons and daughters will move away, the way they did in farming. If there is no reason for a town to exist, it will go away."

If American apparel makers are surviving by hiring cheap labor overseas, the other big component of the textile industry, the companies that weave the cloth and fabric, is thriving by applying the latest technology at home.

A visit to the Cone Mills Corporation plant in Greensboro, N.C., shows the strides in productivity that American fabric makers have made in recent years. In the weaving room, a total of 416 looms pump out 12,000 square yards of denim every hour, nearly 50 percent more than the 1,000 older machines that they replaced. Yet they are so much easier to operate that only about 20 workers are needed to tend them, about one for every 21 looms and a tiny fraction of the 400 or so workers that handled the previous generation.

Not only that, but weaving technology is about to take a major step forward. The projectile looms in use now can insert 258 threads a minute; new air-jet machines just now coming onto factory floors can process 745 a minute, nearly three times as many.

Cone plans to replace its older machines with the more advanced models but will not increase its production capacity, since little growth is seen in the American market. "We'll just have fewer looms and fewer people," said Patrick Danahy, Cone's president.

The combination of faster machines and fewer people explains the decline in employment in the fabric industry from more than 700,000 in the late 1980's to 625,700 in January, even as fabric output increased.

Although the people in Pisgah are unhappy when their jobs depart for Caribbean nations like the Dominican Republic, the location is good news for the American fabric industry because the new factories there are more likely to buy cloth from them rather than their Asian competitors.

"Eighty percent of clothing imports from Mexico and the Caribbean are made of American fabric," Carlos Moore, executive vice president of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute, said. "That explains why we have been able to supply a lot of fabric in the face of slow growth and imports."

And though the recent liberalization of world trade seems to be accelerating the exodus of apparel jobs from the United States, Mr. Moore said it might also provide an opportunity to increase American raw-textile exports. "Most countries have traditionally protected their textile industries, but now they may be forced to open up," he said.

Moreover, some people question whether the North American Free Trade Agreement and other trade pacts should be blamed for the flight of jobs abroad. Without the trade agreement, Mr. Danahy of Cone Mills said, "Both the apparel and textile jobs would have gone to Bangladesh and elsewhere in the Far East."

"With NAFTA in place," he added, "the textile complex on this continent is more competitive."

Mrs. MALONEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to recognize one of our

newly elected Members of Congress from Texas, SHEILA JACKSON-LEE, who has been a strong advocate on so many important issues for this body.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, let me thank the gentlewoman for her leadership and also her diligence on a myriad of issues that have added to the enhancement of women and their lives and their families in this Nation and how important it is. And we thank you for your organization of this special order to pay tribute to women both in terms of honoring them for this month and as well as recognizing the International Women's Day which will be celebrated on March 8, 1996.

It is interesting, I would imagine that there might be those who would be listening to this special order and argue that we are all one family, one America. And I applaud that, and I certainly encourage the recognition that we are one Nation under God. But it is important, as we recognize the oneness of this country, that we celebrate African-American history month and Asian-American history month and Hispanic-American history month, and in my community, Fiestas Patris, as we also celebrate Women's History Month along with many of the myriad of wonderful ethnic groups throughout this Nation.

We happen this month to be celebrating and commemorating the importance of women, and certainly it is important to recognize women internationally.

Mr. Speaker, this month we are celebrating Women's History Month and this Friday we will celebrate International Women's Day. In 1910, the German labor leader Clara Zetkin proposed that March 8 be proclaimed International Women's Day in memory of those earlier struggles of women to better their lives. Working women in the home and work place have fought to make a difference. In recent years, it has become a widely celebrated day for many women's organizations and groups. Rallies, forums, panels, conferences, demonstrations, radio programs, media shows, and school programs have become a part of these celebrations of women's contributions to the history and culture of the world.

I rise today, however, not in celebration but with great concern for women everywhere, overseas and here at home. With the January 26 enactment of the current Continuing Resolution [CR], a handful of antichoice lawmakers in the house scored a far-reaching victory against women's reproductive health and rights—they have effectively eliminated all funding for the U.S. International Family Planning Program.

The legislation passed by the House and Senate will decrease by 35 percent the amount of money available to spend on international family-planning

programs—that is, it will cut the budget by nearly \$200 million. The Agency for International Development [AID] will not be permitted to spend any of its appropriation for family planning until July 1, 1996, 9 months after the start of the fiscal year. Since AID has been unable to release any population funds since October 1995, the beginning of the fiscal year, this means that the program will be deprived of support, altogether, for three quarters of fiscal 1996. For the remainder of this fiscal year, and for fiscal 1997 in its entirety, the funds can only be allocated month by month and on an equal-amount basis. The net effect is a reduction in the family planning/reproductive health budget from \$547 million in 1995 to \$72 million in 1996.

Most of the campaign against family planning has been carried out under the guise of preventing U.S. foreign aid funds from paying for abortions, a practice that has been banned since 1973. Ironically, the efforts of my antichoice colleagues will lead to even more abortions. Nils Daulaire, deputy assistant administrator for policy at the U.S. Agency for International Development, has said that an additional 200,000 illegal and unsafe abortions will result from this action. Daulaire projects that as many as 5,000 more women will die over the next year as a result of unsafe abortions and mistimed pregnancies, and that roughly 500,000 additional births will result, putting further stress on already strained child-survival programs. By gutting funds for family planning, which enables women to avoid abortion in the first place, this Congress has sentenced women in the developing world to more unwanted pregnancies and consequently, more abortions.

This assault on family planning is an attack on women everywhere, at home and overseas. In the most fundamental way, it seeks to undermine women's ability to take charge of their own lives, their families, and their health care needs.

Enabling couples to plan when to have children and how many is at the very core of promoting personal responsibility and family values. By enacting deep cuts in the program, my antichoice, and so-called pro-family, colleagues have increased the likelihood that more families will experience the tragedy of maternal or infant death due to a lack of reproductive health care.

I would like to quote Senate Appropriations Chairman MARK HATFIELD, a pro-life Senator, who has expressed his outrage over the gutting of international family planning.

What we did is bar access to family planning services to approximately 17 million couples, most of them living in unimaginable poverty. We opened the door to the probability of at least 14 million unintended pregnancies every year, tens of thousands of deaths among women * * * and the prob-

ability of at least 4 million more abortions that could have been averted if access to voluntary family planning services had been maintained.

Senator HATFIELD is correct in saying that.

The family planning language in [the CR] is not pro-life, it is not pro-woman, it is not pro-child, it is not pro-health, and it is not pro-family planning. It inflicts the harm of a profound misconception on very poor families overseas who only ask for help in spacing their children through contraception, not abortion.

My colleagues, I urge you, in honor of International Women's Day and Women's History Month, to help reverse this policy. Please, let us not turn back the clock on women's rights, let us not return to the days when women did not have the freedom to choose what they would or would not do with their own bodies and when couples could not determine what was best for their families.

□ 1830

Mrs. MALONEY. Thank you very much. I would now recognize the gentlewoman from California [Ms. WATERS], a leader on women's issues and the newly elected ranking member on the Committee on Banking and Financial Services for Oversight. Thank you for joining us.

Ms. WATERS. Thank you very much. I would like to thank you for providing leadership for all of us as we join together to recognize International Women's Day, which is Friday, March 8. I thank you for providing leadership for us of focus and give some attention to who we are, what we are doing, what we are accomplishing and what we must do to further the cause of women, not only in this country, but in this Nation. We have held a powerful and highly successful World Conference on Women in Beijing, and I suppose we discovered something maybe others knew, but not all of us. We discovered that women all over the world are struggling for freedom, struggling for justice and equality, and while we have made some serious and profound advancements, we still have a long way to go.

Mr. Speaker, we have a long way to go because there are those in this Nation, some in very high places, who simply refuse to see us as equals, who will deny us the opportunity to serve in the many diverse ways that men serve in this Nation and in this world, and because we have those who would deny us opportunity, those who will fight very hard to ensure that we do not get a chance to realize our full potential, we must continue to struggle.

We do not like the idea that we have to be here this evening even, talking about the struggle that women are still involved with in this world to ensure justice, equality, and freedom, but we must do that.

One of the things that we all recognize, most women, and most women

who are elected to the House of Representatives recognize, that until and unless we are free to determine what happens with our bodies, we are not free. It is the most basic of those freedoms that we are able to say what we want in relationship to our health concerns. We must be able to say without equivocation, without fear, without concern for what anybody else thinks, we must be able to say and make decisions about our bodies.

We have been in this struggle for a long time. It has been a long time since *Roe versus Wade*. But we find ourselves having to defend our right to make decisions about our own bodies right here in this House because there are those, men for the most part, who will take every opportunity to try and take back the rights that we have garnered through the courts in this country.

And so we struggle month in and month out, year in and year out, and we are still confronted with those obstacles that are created by some of the men in this House, even as we look toward our work over the next few months, and so I say to all of those who are listening that this is a struggle that we may have to be in for some time to come. But I think that if women really do believe and they really do understand that this is the most basic of all freedoms, the right to determine what happens to your body, then we will rise to the level that we must rise to in order to ensure that we have such a freedom.

This evening I would like, in addition to talking about the freedom of choice, to talk about an issue that really concerns me, and that is women's economic empowerment.

□ 1845

Women throughout the world continue to struggle to raise and provide for their families. We have fought hard for the right to work, the opportunity to participate in government, the ability to access capital, to start our own businesses, and the right to attain a higher education and reliable child care.

All of our strides toward affirmative advancement are halted when our own leaders talk about dismantling programs under affirmative action that help women establish a level playing field with men. I come from a State where we must be involved in the struggle to try and save opportunities for women because there has been advanced something called the California Civil Rights Initiative, that would eliminate affirmative action programs in public employment, education, and public contracting.

Women have only begun to climb the corporate ladder and to shake up the glass ceiling. While women account for 52 percent of all Americans, yet we still comprise only 3 to 5 percent of senior level positions in major companies. We

represent only 11.8 percent of college presidents, 10 percent of the House of Representatives, and only 8 percent of the U.S. Senate. Even with affirmative action, women are still paid less for the same work. Women make only 72 cents to a man's dollar.

In 1993, female managers earned 33 percent less than male managers. Female college professors earned 23 percent less than male professors, and female elementary school teachers earned 22 percent less than male elementary teachers.

I cannot continue to give you all of the dismal statistics. All I can say is, as we focus this evening, let us recognize that we are not near the equality that this country and this Nation and this world deserves.

Mr. TORRES. When I step onto the House floor every day, I am never certain what I will face: Will the agenda promote progress and growth? Or will the House encourage policies that deliver an America of inequality?

Unfortunately, inequality is often the answer and women are often the targets. Whether the issue is opportunity on the corporate ladder or the freedom to make choices, this Congress has sought to strip away and demolish the rights of women.

At the top of the hit list is: limiting access to abortion and abolishing affirmative action. But what worries me most is the theme of these efforts: These themes are not about helping women.

If helping women was the intent, we would acknowledge the fact that women earn only 72 cents for every man's dollar, and we would enforce equal pay for equal work.

We would not question a woman's judgment when she needs a medically necessary procedure; we would work toward perfecting the safest method.

If this Congress is serious about women's issues, let's focus on what we can do for women, not what we can take away.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to share the experiences of Pamela Ferguson-Brey. She is the Honolulu League of Women Voters Human Resource chair and she attended the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China.

In September, 1995, I joined women from around the world at the United Nations Fourth World Conference in China. The Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) conference provided a platform for community organizations from around the world to influence their governments to move more quickly toward equal rights and human rights for women and girls. The NGO forum also provided women from around the world with a forum to highlight issues from their neighborhood, town, city, region, and country and brought participants together to discuss local, national, international solutions to these issues.

The NGO conference was an overwhelming experience. From the moment that I first boarded the plane to China and during the conference there was an unspoken acknowledgment, a bond and an excitement between the conference participants. Tens of thousands of women from around the world together for one purpose—to accelerate the movement of governments toward equal human rights for women and girls. While we

were strangers and did not all speak the same language or have the same customs, we all shared a unique understanding about our status as women. As women, we know what it means to be denied human rights because of our gender status. As women, we know what it means to be afraid of violence because we are not safe in our streets or in our homes. We know what it means to be denied equal access to reproductive and medical care. We know what it means to be denied a seat at the table when policy decisions are being made about our lives and rights. And we know that in over a dozen counties, through infanticide and dowry deaths, women and girls are killed because of their gender.

The bond between women at the conference was also a reflection of the commitment that these thousands of women had to make to realize the changes that are necessary at the local, national and international level to assure that women have equal human rights.

At the opening ceremony to the NGO conference NGO participants sang "I'm going to fight for women's freedom, never turning back, never turning back." I think of these words and the conference and I am recommitting and energized to help my own community move forward more quickly toward equal human rights for women and girls.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mrs. MALONEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous matter on the subject of my special order tonight.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HUTCHINSON). Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from New York?

There was no objection.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12 of rule I, the House will stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Accordingly (at 6 o'clock and 46 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

□ 1910

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. DREIER) at 7 o'clock and 10 minutes p.m.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 3021, GUARANTEEING CONTINUING FULL INVESTMENT OF SOCIAL SECURITY AND OTHER FEDERAL FUNDS IN OBLIGATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. LINDER, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 104-473) on the resolution (H. Res. 371) providing for consideration of

the bill (H.R. 3021) to guarantee the continuing full investment of Social Security and other Federal funds in obligations of the United States, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 3019, THE BALANCED BUDGET DOWNPAYMENT ACT, II

Mr. LINDER, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 104-474) on the resolution (H. Res. 372) providing for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 3019) making appropriations for fiscal year 1996 to make a further downpayment toward a balanced budget, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

PERMISSION FOR MEMBER TO SUBMIT AMENDMENT TO H.R. 3019, THE BALANCED BUDGET DOWNPAYMENT ACT, II

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. OBEY] may have until midnight tonight to submit an amendment to H.R. 3019 for printing in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS TO ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, and pursuant to the provisions of section 3(a) of Public Law 86-380, the Chair announces the Speaker's appointment to the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations the following Members of the House: Mr. SHAYS of Connecticut and Mr. PORTMAN of Ohio.

There was no objection.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Ms. MCCARTHY (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT), for yesterday, March 5, and today, on account of official business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:

Mrs. MALONEY, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. KAPTUR, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. POMEROY, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. TOWNS, for 5 minutes, today.
Mrs. MINK of Hawaii, for 5 minutes, today.
Mrs. CLAYTON, for 5 minutes, today.
Mrs. SCHROEDER, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. GEJDENSON, for 5 minutes, today.
Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. TATE) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. MCINTOSH, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. DUNCAN, for 5 minutes, today.
Mrs. CUBIN, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. TIAHRT, for 5 minutes, today.
Mrs. CHENOWETH, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. MICA, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. BRYANT of Tennessee, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. FUNDERBURK, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. SMITH of Michigan, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. HUNTER, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania, for 5 minutes, today.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas and to include extraneous matter:)

Mrs. THURMAN.
Mr. HAMILTON.
Mr. BARCIA.
Mr. STUDDS in two instances.
Mr. DEUTSCH.
Mr. RAHALL.
Mr. KLECZKA.
Mr. JACOBS.
Mr. MILLER of California.
Mr. CLAY.
Mrs. MINK of Hawaii.
Mr. CONYERS.
Mr. MARKEY.
Ms. BROWN of Florida.
Mrs. MALONEY.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. TATE) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. LEWIS of California.
Mr. SOLOMON.
Mr. BARCIA.
Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania.
Mr. STEARNS.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. LINDER) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. BUNN of Oregon.
Mr. FUNDERBURK.
Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island.
Mr. POMEROY in two instances.
Mr. DELLUMS.
Mr. STEARNS.
Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania.

Mr. SHAW.
Mr. SANDERS.
Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts in two instances.
Ms. NORTON.
Mr. GILMAN.
Mr. HANSEN.
Mr. YOUNG of Alaska.
Mrs. MEEK of Florida.
Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 7 o'clock and 12 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, March 7, 1996, at 10 a.m.

NOTICE OF PROPOSED RULEMAKING

Office of Compliance Notice:

Notice of Proposed Rulemaking: Rule-making regarding the application of chapter 71 of title 5, United States Code, relating to Federal service labor-management relations; procedures for remedy of violations, see page S1547-50 of the RECORD dated March 6, 1996. The 30-day period for public comment on these proposed regulations ends April 6, 1996.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

[Omitted from the Record on March 5, 1996]

2191. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting the President's March 1, 1996, determination regarding certification of the 31 major illicit narcotics producing and transit countries, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2291; to the Committee on International Relations.

[Submitted March 6, 1996]

2192. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting the 1996 International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2291(b)(2); to the Committee on International Relations.

2193. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting the Department's report on PLO compliance, pursuant to Public Law 101-246, section 804(b) (104 Stat. 78); to the Committee on International Relations.

2194. A letter from the Administrator and CEO, Bonneville Power Administration, transmitting the 1995 annual report of the Bonneville Power Administration, also other reports pursuant to the Chief Financial Officers Act that relate to the Administration, pursuant to Public Law 89-448, section 3(a) (80 Stat. 201); to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

2195. A letter from the Chairman, Council of the District of Columbia, transmitting a copy of D.C. Act 11-215, "Equal Opportunity for Local, Small, and Disadvantaged Business Enterprises Temporary Amendment Act of 1996," pursuant to D.C. Code, section 1-233(c)(1); to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

2196. A letter from the Attorney General, Department of Justice, transmitting the annual report under the Federal Managers' Financial Integrity Act for fiscal year 1995, pursuant to 31 U.S.C. 3512(c)(3); to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

2197. A letter from the General Counsel, Federal Emergency Management Agency, transmitting a report of activities under the Freedom of Information Act for calendar year 1995, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 552(d); to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

2198. A letter from the Director, Administration and Management, Department of Defense, transmitting the annual report of cross-servicing and acquisition actions undertaken pursuant to acquisition and cross-servicing agreements with countries that are not part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] or its subsidiary bodies, pursuant to 10 U.S.C. 2349; jointly, to the Committees on National Security and International Relations.

2199. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting a copy of Presidential Determination No. 96-11: Presidential Determination on Military Drawdown for Jordan, pursuant to section 572 of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs Appropriation Act, 1996; jointly, to the Committees on International Relations and Appropriations.

2200. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting a report regarding the economic policy and trade practices of each country with which the United States has an economic or trade relationship, pursuant to 15 U.S.C. 4711; jointly, to the Committees on International Relations and Ways and Means.

2201. A letter from the Chair of the Board, Office of Compliance, transmitting advance notice of proposed rulemaking for publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pursuant to Public Law 104-1, section 304(b)(1) (109 Stat. 29); jointly, to the Committees on House Oversight and Economic and Educational Opportunities.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. SOLOMON: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 369. Resolution to provide the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight special authorities to obtain testimony for purposes of investigation and study of the White House Travel Office matter (Rept. 104-472). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. LINDER: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 371. Resolution providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 3021) to guarantee the continuing full investment of Social Security and other Federal funds in obligations of the United States (Rept. 104-473). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. DREIER: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 372. Resolution providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 3019) making appropriations for fiscal year 1996 to make a further downpayment toward a balanced budget, and for other purposes (Rept. 104-474). Referred to the House Calendar.

BILLS PLACED ON THE CORRECTIONS CALENDAR

Under clause 4 of rule XIII, the Speaker filed with the Clerk a notice requesting that the following bills be placed upon the Corrections Calendar:

H.R. 2685. A bill to repeal the Medicare and Medicaid Coverage Data Bank.

TIME LIMITATION OF REFERRED BILL

Pursuant to clause 5 of rule X the following action was taken by the Speaker:

H.R. 2969. Referral to the Committee on Commerce extended for a period ending not later than March 11, 1996.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 5 of rule X and clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. GUTIERREZ (for himself, Ms. VELAZQUEZ, and Mr. SERRANO):

H.R. 3020. A bill to exclude voyages to or from Puerto Rico from laws applicable to coastwise trade; to the Committee on National Security.

By Mr. ARCHER:

H.R. 3021. A bill to guarantee the continuing full investment of Social Security and other Federal funds in obligations of the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. STUDDS (for himself, Mr. McDERMOTT, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. BEILENSON, Mr. FROST, Mr. EVANS, Mrs. COLLINS of Illinois, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. GUTIERREZ, Mr. MORAN, and Mr. LIPINSKI):

H.R. 3022. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to establish a program regarding training in lifesaving first aid, including training in the use of automated external defibrillators to assist individuals experiencing cardiac arrest; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. SHAW (for himself, Mr. GILMAN, Mr. HAMILTON, and Mr. SOUDER):

H.R. 3023. A bill to require the imposition of certain trade sanctions on countries which threaten the national security of the United States and the health and safety of U.S. citizens by failing to take effective action against the production of and trafficking in illicit narcotic, and psychotropic substances, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means, and in addition to the Committees on Transportation and Infrastructure, and Rules, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. YOUNG of Alaska (for himself, Mr. GALLEGLY, Mr. GINGRICH, Mr. SERRANO, Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island, Mr. RAHALL, Mr. ROMERO-BARCELO, Mr. GILMAN, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. UNDERWOOD, Mr. CALVERT, Mr. LONGLEY, Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas, Mr. DEUTSCH, and Mr. KLINK):

H.R. 3024. A bill to provide a process leading to full self-government for Puerto Rico; to the Committee on Resources, and in addition to the Committee on Rules, for a period

to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. BAKER of Louisiana:

H.R. 3025. A bill to suspend until January 1, 1999, the duty on 2,2-Dichlorophenylacetic Acid Ethyl Ester [DCPAE]; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BRYANT of Tennessee (for himself, Mr. BARR, Mr. BONO, Mr. DUNCAN, Mr. GEKAS, Mr. GOODLATTE, Mr. HEINEMAN, Mr. HOSTETTLER, Mr. MCCOLLUM, Mr. SCHUMER, Mr. SENSENBRENNER, and Mr. SMITH of Texas):

H.R. 3026. A bill to amend section 372 of title 28, United States Code, to provide that proceedings on complaints filed with respect to conduct of a judge or magistrate judge of a court be held by a circuit other than the circuit within which the judge serves, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRYANT of Tennessee (for himself, Mr. BARR, Mr. DUNCAN, Mr. GEKAS, Mr. GOODLATTE, Mr. HEINEMAN, Mr. HOSTETTLER, Mr. MCCOLLUM, Mr. SENSENBRENNER, and Mr. SMITH of Texas):

H.R. 3027. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, and the Controlled Substances Act, with respect to the payment of the costs of court-appointed attorneys in certain criminal cases; to the Committee on the Judiciary, and in addition to the Committee on Commerce, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. CONYERS:

H.R. 3028. A bill to secure the voting rights of former felons who have been released from incarceration; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DAVIS (for himself and Ms. NORTON):

H.R. 3029. A bill to designate the United States courthouse in Washington, District of Columbia, as the "E. Barrett Prettyman United States Courthouse"; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Ms. ESHOO:

H.R. 3030. A bill to establish a minimum amount that may be applied as an aggregate lifetime limit with respect to coverage under an employee health benefits plan or a group health plan; to the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities, and in addition to the Committee on Commerce, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. HANSEN:

H.R. 3031. A bill to amend the act of October 15, 1966 (80 Stat. 915), as amended, establishing a program for the preservation of additional historic property throughout the Nation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Resources.

By Mr. KANJORSKI (for himself, Mr. MCDADE, Mr. MURTHA, Mr. COYNE, Mr. GEKAS, Mr. HOLDEN, Mr. MCHALE, Mr. GREENWOOD, Mr. MASCARA, and Mr. DOYLE):

H.R. 3032. A bill to assist State and local governments in recovering from recent disasters; to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

By Mr. MARKEY (for himself, Mr. KASICH, Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, Mr. FROST, and Mr. JOHNSTON of Florida):

(4) by adding at the end the following:

"(b) DEFINITION.—For purposes of subsection (a), any 2 organizations shall be considered to be affiliated organizations if the organizations meet any one or more of the following criteria:

"(1) The governing instrument of one such organization requires it to be bound by decisions of the other organization on legislative issues.

"(2) The governing board of one such organization includes persons who—

"(A) are specifically designated representatives of the other such organization or are members of the governing board, officers, or paid executive staff members of such other organization; and

"(B) by aggregating their votes, have sufficient voting power to cause or prevent ac-

tion on political advocacy issues by the other such organization.

"(3) The organizations—

"(A) either use the same name or trademark, or represent themselves as being affiliated; and

"(B) coordinate their lobbying activities or political advocacy."